

# PSCI-131

## American Foreign Policy

Professor Dominic Tierney

Lectures: T/Th 4.30-5.30pm, Annenberg School 110

Office: 245 Stiteler Hall

Office Hours: Thursdays 2.15-4.15pm, and by appointment

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### Description of the course

This course analyzes the formation and conduct of foreign policy in the United States. The course combines three major elements: a study of the history of American foreign relations since 1865; an analysis of the causes of American foreign policy such as the international system, public opinion, and the media; and a discussion of the major policy issues in contemporary U.S. foreign policy, including terrorism, civil wars, and economic policy.

### Books

Two books are required (and are available in the university bookstore).

1. Stephen Ambrose and Douglas Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, eighth edition (New York: Penguin, 1997).
2. G. John Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*, Fifth edition (New York: Pearson Longman, 2005) (indicated in the syllabus by "T").

Asterixed readings (\*) will be available through Blackboard:

<https://courseweb.library.upenn.edu/>

## Course Requirements:

Students are expected to attend class and must be willing to contribute in the discussion sections.

All readings in a box like this are <i>required</i> . It will be assumed you have read them.
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It will not be assumed that you have read the suggested/further reading (anything outside the box). But this is an opportunity to follow up a topic in more depth, and is a useful starting point if you want to write a paper on a particular topic. Students should also keep informed about relevant current events, which may periodically be discussed in class, through regular reading of the *New York Times*, *The Economist*, or similar.

The grade is based on four components:

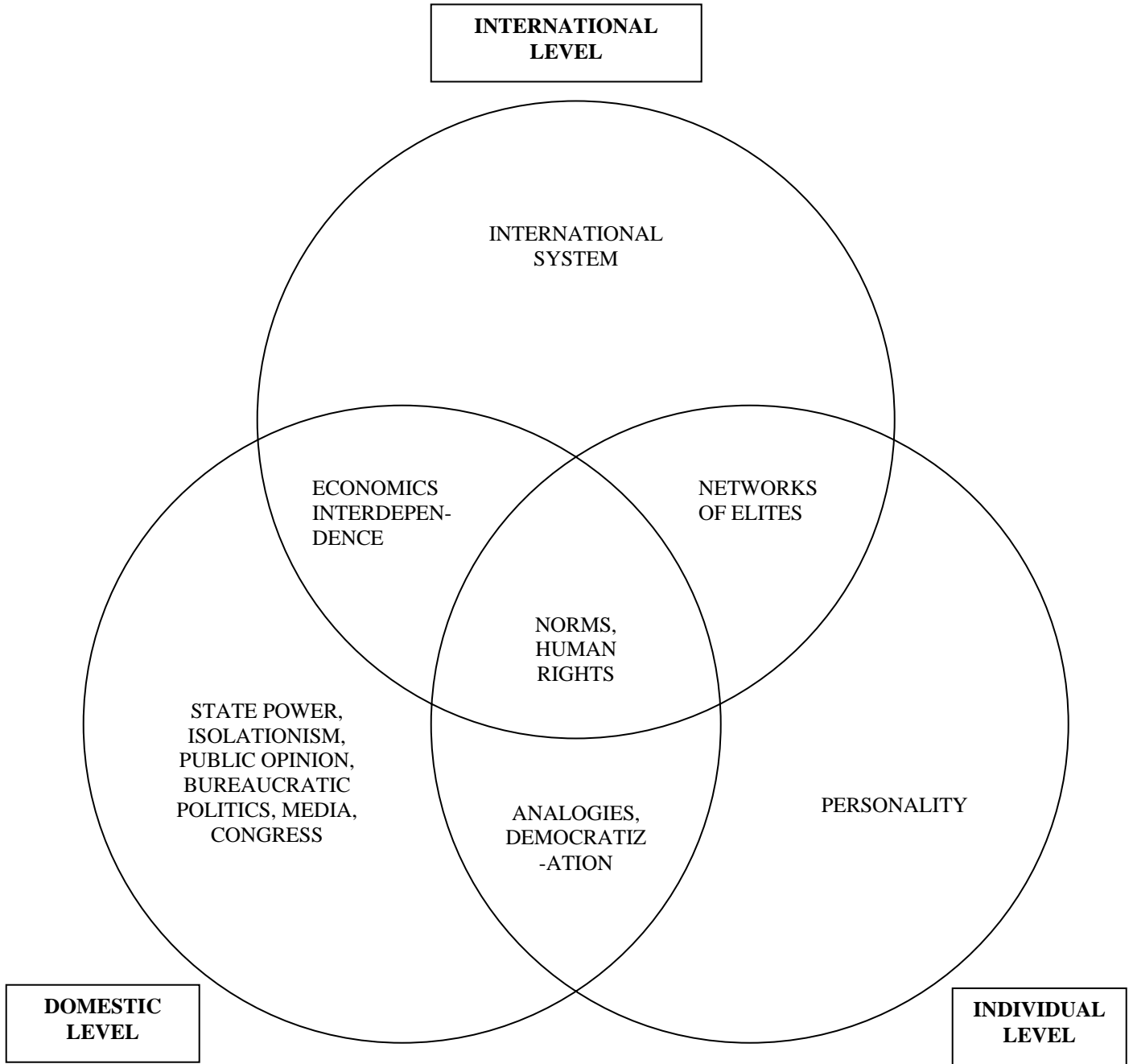
1. Paper 1 (2000 words max) due in the lecture Thursday 22 February. Worth 20% of grade.
2. Paper 2 (3000 words max) due in the lecture Tuesday 17 April. Worth 30% of grade.
3. A final exam will be held worth 30% of the grade.
4. Class participation is worth 20%.

\*Note: late papers lose 2/3 of a letter grade per day, or part of a day they are late. Papers will be collected at the start of the lecture. If you are late to the lecture you will lose 2/3 of a letter grade. The only exceptions are medical problems, family emergencies etc.

\*Note: cases of plagiarism will be reported to the university authorities – always cite a source you use!

## The Sources of American Foreign Policy

<b>The Era/President</b>	<b>Historical events</b>	<b>Theory of American Foreign Policy</b>	<b>Contemporary relevance</b>
1865-1918	Rise of America	State Power	Manipulation of threats
FDR	Depression era and WW2	Isolationism: Rise and Fall	Neo-isolationism
Truman Eisenhower	Containment and Korea	The International System	Balancing against the U.S.
Kennedy	Berlin, Cuba	Bureaucratic Politics	Bureaucratic Politics and the War in Iraq
Kennedy-Johnson	Cuba, Vietnam	Historical Analogies	Dueling analogies: WW2 and Vietnam
Johnson	Vietnam	The Media	CNN effect
Nixon-Ford	Vietnam, China, Detente	The President and Psychological Theory	George W. Bush's Personality
Carter	Iran	Human Rights and the Role of Ideas	Human Rights after the Cold War
Reagan-Bush	Cold War Escalation The End of the Cold War, the Gulf War	Congress	Congress in the George W. Bush administration
Clinton	Democratic Enlargement	Democratization	Democratization in the George W. Bush administration
George W. Bush	War on Terror and Iraq	Public Opinion	Public Support for War



**The levels of analysis in American Foreign Policy**

## **Tuesday 9 January: Introduction**

## **Thursday 11 January: Traditions in American Foreign Policy I**

Puzzles: How do the Wilsonian, Jeffersonian, Jacksonian and Hamiltonian schools of thought help us to understand American foreign policy?

Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World* (2002), pp. 3-29, 86-98.

Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World* (2002), rest.

## **Tuesday 16 January: Traditions in American Foreign Policy II**

Puzzles: How does Huntington believe “the American creed” affects foreign policy? Are preemption, unilateralism and the search for military hegemony consistent themes in American foreign policy?

Samuel Huntington, “American Ideals Versus American Institutions” (I).  
\*Melvyn Leffler, “9/11 and American Foreign Policy,” *Diplomatic History* (June 2005).

John Lewis Gaddis, *Surprise, Security and the American Experience* (2004).

## **Thursday 18 January: No Lecture**

## **Tuesday 23 January: The National Interest and Levels of Analysis**

Puzzles: What are levels of analysis? Are they useful or misleading? What is America’s national interest?

Ikenberry, “Introduction” (I)  
Holsti, “Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy” (I)  
\*Samuel Huntington, “The Erosion of American National Interests”

Hans Morgenthau, “Another ‘Great Debate’: The National Interest of the United States,” *American Political Science Review* (1952).

John Ruggie, “The Past as Prologue? Interests, Identity, and American Foreign Policy,” *International Security* (Spring 1997).

Jack Snyder, “One World, Rival Theories,” *Foreign Policy* (November/ December 2004) [a quick refresher on international relations theory]

## Thursday 25 January: State Power and the Rise of America

Historical:	1865-1918
Theoretical:	State power
Contemporary:	Extracting resources today

Puzzles: How does Zakaria explain the emergence of the United States as a world power? Do U.S. administrations manufacture threats to extract more resources from society?

\*Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role* (1998), pp. 3-12, 126-159.

Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role* (1998), rest.

## Tuesday 30 January: Isolationism and the Road to War

Historical:	1932-1945: FDR, Depression and War
Theoretical:	Isolationism
Contemporary:	Neo-isolationism

Puzzles: How powerful was isolationism in the 1930s? Does isolationism still exist in the U.S.?

Ambrose and Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, chapter 1, plus skim through chapters 2-3 on WW2.  
\*David Hastings Dunn, "Isolationism Revisited".  
\*Wayne S. Cole, "Isolationism," from Graham and Wander, eds. *Franklin D. Roosevelt: His life and Times*, pp. 211-213.

Manfred Jonas, *Isolationism in America, 1935-1941* (1989).

Seyom Brown, 'Idealism, Realpolitik or Domestic Politics: A Clinton Era Retrospective on FDR's Foreign Policies', in Sidney M. Milkis and Jerome M. Mileur, eds, *The New Deal and the Triumph of Liberalism* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002).

## Thursday 1 February: International Sources of American Foreign Policy

Historical: 1945-1960: Truman, Eisenhower and the Origins of the Cold War  
Theoretical: The International System

Puzzles: Was U.S. foreign policy after World War II driven by the logic of anarchy and bipolarity? Was the Cold War the result of conflicting national ideologies or conflicting national interests?

Kenneth N. Waltz, "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power" (I).  
Melvyn Leffler, "The American Conception of National Security and the Beginnings of the Cold War, 1945-1948" (I)  
Ambrose and Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, skim through chapters 7-9 on Korea to Kennedy (pp. 115-170).

Anne Deighton, 'The Cold War in Europe 1945-1947: Three Approaches,' in Ngaire Woods ed. *Explaining International Relations Since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

John Lewis Gaddis. *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), chapter 2.

The Truman Doctrine Speech (<http://www.luminet.net/~tgort/truman.htm>)

George F. Kennan, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs*, XXV (July 1947) pp.566-582 (<http://www.txwesleyan.edu/ohan/readings/sourcesofsovietconduct.html>)

NSC 68 (April, 1950) (<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/nsc-68/nsc68-1.htm>)

## Tuesday 6 February: Bureaucratic Politics and the Cuban Missile Crisis

Historical: 1961-1963: John F. Kennedy and the Cuban Missile Crisis  
Theoretical: The Bureaucracy  
Contemporary: Bureaucratic politics and the war in Iraq

Puzzles: What is the effect of bureaucratic politics on American foreign policy? Did bureaucratic politics and organizational routines determine U.S. policy in the Cuban Missile Crisis? Does the Cuban Missile Crisis provide enduring lessons for foreign policy decision makers, or was it a one-off?

Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis" (I)  
Stephen D. Krasner. "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)" (I)  
Ambrose and Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, chapter 10, esp. pp. 181-187.

Graham Alison and Philip Zelikow. *The Essence of Decision*. Second Edition, (1999).

Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*, Chapters 9-10.

Robert Kennedy, *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis* (1968).

Ernest May and Philip Zelikow, eds., *The Kennedy Tapes* (1997).

John F. Kennedy's Cuban Missiles Speech (<http://www.cs.umb.edu/jfklibrary/j102262.htm>)

John F. Kennedy's Berlin Speech (<http://www.cs.umb.edu/jfklibrary/j062663.htm>)

## Thursday 8 February: Historical Analogies, the Cuban Missile Crisis and America's Entry into Vietnam

Historical:	1962-1965: Kennedy and the missile crisis, Johnson and Vietnam
Theoretical:	Historical analogies
Contemporary:	WW2 and Vietnam: dueling analogies and the war in Iraq

Puzzles: What are historical analogies? Are analogies mainly used by policy-makers as purely rhetorical devices to advocate positions that they reached for other reasons, or do they independently shape the views of policy-makers?

\*Dominic Tierney, "Pearl Harbor in Reverse: Moral Analogies in the Cuban Missile Crisis"  
Yuen Foong Khong, "Seduction By Analogy in Vietnam" (I)  
Ambrose and Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, pp.190-208 (origins of the Vietnam War)

Yuen Foong Khong. 'The United States and East Asia: Challenges to the Balance of Power,' in Woods ed. *Explaining International Relations*.

Yuen Foong Khong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965* (1992).

Ernest R. May, "*Lessons*" of the Past: *The Use and Misuse of History in American Foreign Policy* (1973).

## Tuesday 13 February: The Media, Johnson and the War in Vietnam

Historical:	1964-1968: Lyndon B. Johnson and Vietnam
Theoretical:	The Media
Contemporary:	CNN Effect

Puzzles: Should the media be blamed for the failure of American policy in Vietnam, or credited with helping to correct a misguided policy?

Ambrose and Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, pp. 214-223.

\*Daniel Hallin. "The Media, the War in Vietnam, and Political Support: A Critique of the Thesis of an Oppositional Media," *Journal of Politics*, v. 46 no.1 (February, 1984), pp. 2-24.

\*Warren Strobel, "The Media and U.S. Policies Towards Intervention: A Closer Look at the "CNN Effect"

Leslie Gelb and Richard Betts. *The Irony of Vietnam: The System Worked* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1979).

Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1996*, Chapter 10-11.

The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, 10 August 1964

<http://www.luminet.net/~tgort/tonkin.htm>

## Thursday 15 February: Psychological Theories of American Foreign Policy

Theoretical: The President and Psychological theory  
Historical: 1969-1976: Richard M. Nixon, Gerald R. Ford and Détente  
Contemporary: The Bush administration

Puzzles: Do the personal beliefs of American presidents matter? When do they matter? Can American foreign policy during the Nixon presidency be adequately understood without reference to Nixon's psychological make-up and the interpersonal dynamics of the oval office?

Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception" (I)  
Philip Tetlock and Charles McGuire "Cognitive Perspectives on Foreign Policy" (I)  
Ambrose and Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, chapter 12.

Jack Levy. "Prospect Theory and International Relations," *Political Psychology*, v. 13 no. 2, (June 1992).

Alexander George. *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice* (Boulder: Westview, 1980), Part One.

Robert Jervis. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976).

Irving Janis. *Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascos*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1982).

James David Barber, "The Presidential Character"

Winter, Hermann et al, "The Personalities of Bush and Gorbachev Measured at a Distance" (I)

The War Powers Resolution

(<http://www.luminet.net/~tgort/wpa.htm>)

## Tuesday 20 February: Morality and Jimmy Carter

Historical: 1977-1980: Jimmy Carter  
Theoretical: Human Rights and the Role of Ideas

Puzzles: Does morality influence American foreign policy? Jimmy Carter entered office determined to free U.S. foreign policy from its "inordinate fear of communism" and with pledges that he would take the first steps toward the elimination of nuclear weapons. He left office with U.S.-Soviet relations in a shambles and the nuclear arms race proceeding apace. Are there lessons in this course of events about the underlying structure of the Cold War and the logic of international relations, or does this merely reflect the weaknesses of a President without any significant foreign policy experience?

Robert McElroy, *Morality and American Foreign Policy* (1992), pp. 30-56.  
Ambrose and Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, chapter 14.

Robert McElroy, *Morality and American Foreign Policy*, pp.115-147.

Judith Goldstein and Robert Keohane, *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1993). Chapter 1 (Introduction) and Chapter 6 (Sikkink).

Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use," *International Organization* (summer 1999).

Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1996*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997). Chapter 12.

Jimmy Carter's Notre Dame Speech on Human Rights (June, 1977)

(<http://www.civnet.org/resoures/teach/basic/part8/55.htm>)

Jimmy Carter's "Crisis of Confidence" Speech

(<http://www.tamu.edu/scom/pres/speeches/jccrisis.html>)

## **Thursday 22 February: Congress, Reagan, Bush and the End of the Cold War**

### **\*Paper 1 due in the lecture**

Historical:	1981-1992: Ronald Reagan and George Bush
Theoretical:	Congress and the American political system
Contemporary:	Congress today

Puzzles: To what extent is U.S. foreign policy a reflection of the American political system? Does the U.S. political system aid or undermine an effective foreign policy? Which contributed more significantly to the end of the Cold War – the human rights agenda of Jimmy Carter, or the escalatory policies of Ronald Reagan?

Michael Mastanduno, "The United States Political System and International Leadership: A 'Decidedly Inferior' Form of Government?" (I)

\*James Lindsay, "Congress and the Politics of American Foreign Policy"

Ambrose and Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, pp. 320-340, 344-351, 362-368 (Iran-Contra and the end of the Cold War).

Stanley Hoffmann, *Gulliver's Troubles Or the Setting of American Foreign Policy*. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968). Chapters 4-6.

Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*, Chapter 12.

Miroslav Nincic, "Elections and U.S. Foreign Policy"

Ronald Reagan's Speech before the House of Commons on 8 June 1982 (The Evil Empire Speech) (<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/evilemp.htm>)

The Star Wars Speech -- 23 March 1983

(<http://www.tamu.edu/scom/pres/speeches/rrsecure.html>)

George Bush on Iraqi Aggression in the Persian Gulf

(<http://www.tamu.edu/scom/pres/speeches/gbaggress.html>)

## Tuesday 27 February: Democracy and the Clinton Era

Historical:	1993-2000: Bill Clinton
Theoretical:	Democratization
Contemporary:	The Neo-Conservative Democratization Project

Puzzles: How has “America’s mission” of spreading democracy shaped U.S. foreign policy? Are the neo-conservatives the latest proponents of “America’s mission”?

Ambrose and Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, chapter 18.  
\*Tony Smith, *America's Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century* (1995), pp. 311-345.

Michael Cox, Takashi Inoguchi and G. John Ikenberry (eds.) *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts* (2000),

Michael Brown, Sean Lynn-Jones, and Steven Miller, *Debating the Democratic Peace*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996).

Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*, Chapter 13.

Clinton Speech on Foreign Policy Goals – San Francisco, 26 February 1999

(<http://www.pub.whitehouse.gov/uri-res/I2R?urn:pdi://oma.eop.gov.us/1999/3/1/3.text.1>)

Clinton Remarks on NAFTA – White House, 14 September, 1993.

(<http://www.pub.whitehouse.gov/uri-res/I2R?urn:pdi://oma.eop.gov.us/1993/9/15/9.text.1>)

## Thursday 1 March: No Lecture

### > Spring Break

## Tuesday 13 March: Public Opinion in the Post-Cold War World

Historical:	Clinton and Bush administrations
Theoretical:	Public Opinion

Puzzles: What are American public attitudes towards foreign policy? How and when do they matter?

\*Ole Holsti “Public Opinion and Foreign Policy”  
\*Bruce Jentleson and Rebecca Britton, “Still Pretty Prudent: Post-Cold War Public Opinion on the Use of Force,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (August 1998).

Ole Holsti. *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy*. (Ann Arbor: The Univ. of Michigan Press), 1996.

Aldrich, John, John Sullivan, and Eugene Borgida, "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting" *American Political Science Review*, v. 83, no. 1 (March, 1989), pp. 123-141.

Alexander George “Domestic Constraints on Regime Change in U.S. Foreign Policy” (I)

## Thursday 15 March: The Israel Lobby

Historical: U.S. relations with Israel  
Theoretical: Domestic constituencies

Puzzles: Is there an Israel lobby? Does it have too much influence over American foreign policy?

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby," *London Review of Books* (March 2006), available at:

[http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/mear01\\_.html](http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/mear01_.html)

\*"The War over Israel's Influence," *Foreign Policy* (July/August 2006), pp. 56-66.

The original paper, with footnotes, is available at:

<http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/Research/wpaper.nsf/rwp/RWP06-011>

This site also links to a critique of the article by Harvard professor Alan Dershowitz.

## Part II: Policy Challenges in American Foreign Policy

### Tuesday 20 March: U.S. Economic Policy

Puzzles: Does foreign aid help or hinder U.S. foreign policy goals? What is the effect of the U.S. trade gap? What is the role of U.S. economic power and its quest for open markets? Are sanctions an effective foreign policy tool?

\*Robert Gilpin, *The Challenge of Global Capitalism*, chapter 8.

\*Richard N. Haas, "Sanctioning Madness," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 1997).

\*Jesse Helms, "What Sanctions Epidemic?" *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 1999).

Kimberly Ann Elliot, "The Sanctions Glass: Half Full or Completely Empty?" and Robert Pape, "Why Economic Sanctions *Still* Do Not Work," *International Security* 23 (Summer 1998).

'The Kindness of Strangers,' *The Economist* (7 May 1994)

Barbara Crosette and Jeffrey D. Sachs, 'When Foreign Aid Makes a Difference,' *New York Times* (3 February 1997).

Jeff Frieden, "Sectoral Conflict and U.S. Foreign Economic Policy, 1914-1940" (I)

Lawrence Jacobs and Benjamin Page, "Business Versus Public Influence in U.S. Foreign Policy" (I)

Andrew Bacevich "Strategy of Openness" (I)

Robert Hunter Wade, "The Invisible Hand of the American Empire" (I)

Daniel Bodansky, 'Bonne Voyage: Kyoto's Uncertain Revival,' *The National Interest* (Fall 2001).

## Thursday 22 March: Civil Wars, Intervention and Human Rights

Puzzles: When does, and when should the United States intervene in civil wars? What is the record of U.S. interventions? Do they work or not, and if so, when?

\*Robert DiPrizio, *Armed Humanitarians: U.S. Interventions from Northern Iraq to Kosovo* (2002), pp. 146-168.

\*Ivo Daalder, "The United States and Military Intervention in Internal Conflict," in Brown, ed., *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), chapter 14.

Stephen P. Marks, 'Promoting Human Rights', in Michael T. Klare and Daniel C. Thomas eds. *World Security* (New York, St. Martin's, 1991).

Samantha Power, "A Problem from Hell": *America and the Age of Genocide* (2002).

Alan Kuperman, "Rwanda in Retrospect" *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2000).

Response

Alison Des Forges and Alan Kuperman, "Response - Shame: Rationalizing Western Apathy on Rwanda" *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2000).

Michael Mandelbaum, "A Perfect Failure" *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 1999).

James Steinberg, "A Perfect Polemic" *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 1999).

## Tuesday 27 March: American Primacy

Puzzles: In what ways is the United States powerful and in what ways is it not powerful? Is U.S. primacy to be lauded or opposed? Can American primacy last?

\*Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "America Primacy in Perspective," *Foreign Affairs* (July-August 2002).

\*Michael Mandelbaum, "David's Friend Goliath," *Foreign Policy* (January/February 2006).

Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise," *International Security* 17 (Spring 1993), pp. 5-51.

## Thursday 29 March: U.S. Grand Strategy

Puzzle: What is the best grand strategy for the United States?

\*Barry Posen and Andrew Ross, "Competing Visions for US Grand Strategy," *International Security*, Vol. 21 (Winter 1996/1997), pp. 5-53.

G. John Ikenberry, "America's Liberal Grand Strategy" (I)

Michael Mastanduno, "Preserving the Unipolar Moment: Realist Theories and US Grand Strategy after the Cold War," *International Security* 21 (Spring 1997), pp. 49-88.

Michael Brown, et al, *America's Strategic Choices* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).

Robert Jervis, *American Foreign Policy in a New Era* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

Charles Kupchan, *The End of an American Era: US Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-first Century* (New York: Knopf, 2002).

Henry Nau, *At Home Abroad: Identity and Power in American Foreign Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 2002).

Joseph Nye, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1990).

### **Tuesday 3 April: The War on Terror**

Puzzles: How vulnerable is the United States? How should the U.S. fight the war on terror?

\*John Mueller, "Harbinger or Aberration," *National Interest* (2002).

\*Barry Posen, "The Struggle Against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics," *International Security* (2002), pp. 39-55.

Stephen Flynn, "America the Vulnerable" *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2002).

Michael Howard, "What's in a Name: How to Fight Terrorism," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2002).

Jessica Stern, *The Ultimate Terrorists* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

Alan B. Krueger and David D. Laitin, "'Misunderestimating' Terrorism," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2004).

### **Thursday 5 April: The Iraq War**

Puzzles: How did the United States end up invading Iraq? What does this process tell us about the role of power, norms and institutions in international relations?

\*George Packer, *The Assassin's Gate: America in Iraq* (2005), pp. 24-50.

Robert Jervis "Understanding the Bush Doctrine" (I)

\*James Rubin, "Stumbling Into War," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2003).

Walter Russell Mead, *Power, Terror, Peace, and War: America's Grand Strategy in a World at Risk* (New York: Knopf, 2004).

Charles Krauthammer, "The Bush Doctrine," *Weekly Standard* (June 2001).

John Lewis Gaddis, *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

Chaim Kaufman, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War," *International Security* (Summer 2004), pp. 5-48.

## Tuesday 10 April: Unilateralism, the U.S and Europe

Puzzles: Are Americans from Mars and Europeans from Venus? What are the pros and cons of U.S. unilateralism? Is Krauthammer right that U.S. obligations as the global hegemon mean that it must often act unilaterally and against the wishes of other states? Or is Ikenberry right that what he calls “neo-imperialism” is unsustainable and will make the U.S. less secure?

Charles Krauthammer, “The Unipolar Moment Revisited” (I) G. John Ikenberry, “America’s Imperial Ambition” (I) *Robert Kagan, “Power and Weakness” <i>Policy Review</i> (June 2002).
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Andrew Moravcsik, “Striking a New Transatlantic Bargain” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2003).  
W. Michael Reisman, “The United States and International Institutions” (I)  
Stephen Walt, “The Ties that Fray: Why Europe and America are Drifting Apart,” *National Interest* (Winter 1998/99).  
John Mearsheimer, “The False Promise of International Institutions,” *International Security* 19 (Winter 1994/1995), pp. 5-49.  
G. John Ikenberry, “Democracy, Institutions, and American Restraint, in G. John Ikenberry, ed., *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 213-238.  
Terry Deibel, “The Death of a Treaty,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2002).

## Thursday 12 April: The U.S. and East Asia

Puzzles: How should the U.S. deal with a rising China and an enigmatic North Korea? Is China a threat to U.S. interests?

*“China Rising: How the Asian Colossus is Changing Our World,” <i>Foreign Policy</i> (January/February 2005). *Thomas Christensen, “Posing Problems without Catching Up: China’s Rise and Challenges for U.S. Security,” <i>International Security</i> 25 (Spring 2001). *James T. Laney and Jason T. Shaplen, “How to Deal with North Korea” <i>Foreign Affairs</i> (March/April 2003).
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Gerald Segal, “Does China Matter?” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 1999).  
David Shambaugh, “Containment or Engagement of China,” *International Security* (Fall 1996).  
Andrew Nathan and Robert Ross, *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress: China’s Search For Security* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997).  
Aaron Friedburg, “The Struggle for Mastery in Asia,” *Commentary* (November 2000), pp. 17-26.  
George Gilboy and Eric Heginbotham, “Getting Realism: U.S. Asia (and China) Policy Reconceived,” *The National Interest* (Fall 2002), pp. 99-109.

**Tuesday 17 April: U.S. Empire**  
**\*Paper 2 due in the lecture**

Puzzles? Is the U.S. an empire? Should it be?

\*Jack Snyder, "Imperial Temptations," *National Interest* (Spring 2003).  
\*Eliot Cohen, "History and the Hyperpower," *Foreign Affairs* (July/ August 2004).  
\*Dimitri Simes, "America's Imperial Dilemma," *Foreign Affairs* (November/ December 2003).

Andrew Bacevich, *An American Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).  
Charles Kupchan, *The End of the American Era: US Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Knopf, 2002), chapters 1-2.  
Chalmers Johnson, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000), chapter 10.  
Robert Kagan, "The Benevolent Empire," *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1998).  
Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire* (New York: Penguin, 2004).

**Thursday 19 April: American Victory and Perceptions of Victory**

Puzzle: What is victory in American foreign policy? What factors shape American perceptions of victory in wars and crises?

\*Dominic Johnson and Dominic Tierney, "In the Eye of the Beholder: Victory and Defeat in US Military Operations," in Jan Angstrom and Isabelle Duyvesteyn, eds., *Understanding Victory and Defeat in Contemporary War* (London: Routledge, 2007).

Dominic Johnson and Dominic Tierney, *Failing to Win: Perceptions of Victory and Defeat in International Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).