

17.40 // Tuesday and Thursday, 11:00-12:00, Room 1-190
MIT Political Science Department
Prof.: Stephen Van Evera (E40-475).
Tas: Nathan Black, Brendan Green, and Kaiy Quek
Writing tutor: Diane Hendrix
Website: web.mit.edu/17.40/www/
Stellar site: stellar.mit.edu/S/course/17/fa10/7.40/index.html

Fall 2010
Draft 1.0

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

A HASS-D Communications-Intensive Course

Course mission: to explain and evaluate past and present United States foreign policies. What caused the United States' past involvement in foreign wars and interventions? Were the results of U.S. policies good or bad? Would other policies have better served the U.S. and/or the wider world? Were the beliefs that guided U.S. policy true or false? If false, what explains these misperceptions? General theories that bear on the causes and consequences of American policy will be applied to explain and evaluate past and present policies.

The history of United States foreign policy in the 20th century is covered. Functional topics are also covered: U.S. military policy, U.S. foreign economic policy, and U.S. policy on human rights and democracy overseas. Finally, we will predict and prescribe for the future. What policies should the U.S. adopt toward current problems and crises? These problems include the war against Al Qaeda and the wider war on terror; continuing U.S. involvement in Iraq; Iran; the Taiwan Straits; containing the spread of weapons of mass destruction and climate change; threats to global public health; human rights abuses; and more.

This is a HASS-D Communications Intensive course, and counts toward fulfilling the HASS-D and CI requirement. (HASS CI courses require 20 pages of writing, require early submission of at least one paper, and include two public speaking exercises in section. Sections will normally include fewer than 12 students.) This is an undergraduate course but is open to graduate students.

Format and Requirements. Class format: two 1-hour general meetings and one 1-hour discussion section meeting per week. Class starts promptly at 3:05, ends at 3:55. Grades are based on section participation (15%), two 8-page papers (40%), final exam (30%), and two quizzes (15%). Students must also complete two ungraded two-page papers, one that reacts to class readings or lectures, and one that summarizes your in-class presentation (see below).

* Discussion sections. Students are expected to complete required readings before section and to attend section regularly. Section attendance is mandatory. Unexcused absence from section will be penalized.

Sections will include a public speaking exercise in the format of mock presentations to the National Security Council (NSC). You will be asked to frame and defend to the Council a viewpoint on a foreign policy issue.

* Papers. Students will write two short ungraded papers--a response paper that reacts to course readings and lectures, and a paper summarizing your in-section presentation--and two longer papers on questions arising from the course material. The two ungraded papers each will be two pages long, double spaced. The longer papers will be 8 pages. One 8-page paper assignment asks you to explain a past case of American conduct--what accounts

for American behavior? A second 8-page assignment asks you to evaluate a past American policy: was the policy appropriate, or would another policy have produced better results?

The ungraded response paper is due the week of September 27-October 1. Your ungraded talk-summary paper is due on the day you present your talk. The first 8-page paper is due at 1100 a.m. (class time) on Tuesday, November 9. The second is due at 11:00 a.m. on Thursday, December 2.

We require that you submit a finished draft of at least one of your 8-page papers **a week before its due date** in order to get comments for rewrite from your TA. You are wise to submit both papers to your TA for comments. So please leave yourself time to get comments on drafts of the 8-page papers from your TAs before you submit final drafts.

Your response paper should advance an argument about the reading or lectures. Your argument can dispute argument(s) advanced in the reading or lectures; can concur with argument(s) advanced in the reading or lecture; can assess or explain policies or historical events described in the reading and lectures; or can relate current events in the press today to ideas or events in the readings or lectures. We encourage evaluation of policies or ideas covered in the reading or lecture. Are they right or wrong? Good or bad? Somewhere in your paper--preferably at the beginning--please offer a 1-2 sentence summary of your argument. Your paper should be about two typed pages (double spaced--not 1.5 spaced please--with standard one-inch margins on left, right, top and bottom). It will not be graded but is mandatory and must be completed to receive full credit for class participation.

Late papers will be penalized unless extensions are granted well in advance of the paper deadline. Extensions will not be granted except in emergency situations.

Your papers may be improved by keeping up with current international affairs during the semester. Four publications offer especially excellent coverage: The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Economist (a weekly), and The Far Eastern Economic Review (formerly a weekly, now a monthly).

The writing tutor assigned to this class, Diane Hendrix, will be of invaluable help in preparing these papers.

Your papers and public speaking may also be improved by seeking help from MIT's Writing and Communications Center (12-132, 253-3090, <http://web.mit.edu/writing>). They give good writing advice and have useful practice facilities for public speaking. Specifically, their advertising explains that they offer you "free one-on-one professional advice from lecturers who are published writers about all types of academic, creative, and professional writing and about all aspects of oral presentations." To schedule an appointment, go to <http://humanistic.mit.edu/wcc> and click on "Appointments." If you cannot find an open appointment slot, do not despair. There are always cancellations on the day of the appointment (sometimes as many as 15 cancellations in one day). Click on the Wait List (the blue strip that says "Is the time that you want already reserved"?). Whenever a cancellation occurs on that day, you will be automatically notified by email. Because several people might receive that same message, go online ASAP to schedule that open spot; 96% of clients who want an appointment end up with one if they use the Wait List. If you can't find an appointment, you try dropping in or try the Online Tutor at <http://web.mit.edu/writing/Center/onlinetutor.html>. The Center's core hours are Monday-Friday 9:00 a.m.-6:00 p.m.; evening and Sunday hours vary by

semester--check the website for up-to-date hours.

* Quizzes: two short (15 minute) quizzes will be given. Quiz dates are October 7 (Wednesday) and November 16 (Monday). You will be asked to answer three short (define-and-identify) questions on each quiz.

* Final exam: a list of study questions will be circulated before the final. The final exam questions will be drawn from this list. Students are encouraged to study together to prepare their answers. The final will also include short-answer questions that will not be distributed in advance.

* Films: the 17.40 film society. A couple of optional evening film-showings will be organized during the term, on topics to be chosen by acclamation of the class, with advice from 17.40 film maven emeritus Daniel Landau. Topics could include the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Vietnam War, Iraq, or other subjects. Dates and places TBA.

Books to purchase, available at the MIT COOP bookstore:

Thomas G. Paterson, J. Garry Clifford, Shane J. Maddock, Deborah Kisatsky, and Kenneth J. Hagan, American Foreign Relations: A History Since 1895, 6th ed. (2005)

John Lewis Gaddis, Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy (rev. and expanded ed., 2005)

George C. Herring, America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975, 4th ed. (2002)

Robert F. Kennedy, Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis (1971)

These books are also on reserve at Dewey library (building E-53, on Wadsworth Street). Most other assigned readings will be available online through Stellar. A few assigned readings may be handed out in class.

I also recommend--but don't require--that students buy a copy of the following book that will improve your papers:

Kate L. Turabian, A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, 7th ed., rev. by Wayne C. Booth et al., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007)

Turabian frames the basic rules for formatting footnotes and other style rules. You will want to follow these rules so your writing looks spiffy and professional.

Readings in books available in the COOP bookstore are denoted below with a "B"; readings on Stellar are denoted below with an "S"; readings that are handed out in class are denoted below with an "H".

Some of the "further reading" (see p. 15, below) are on reserve at Dewey library, for your consultation should you want to do further reading for your paper assignments. These are denoted with a pound ("#") sign.

Assigned readings average 90 pages per week over 14 weeks. However, note that readings are heavier for some weeks. You should plan ahead and budget your time so you can complete the heavy readings.

Further information on Communication Intensive classes at MIT.

Communications intensive subjects in the humanities, arts, and social sciences require at least 20 pages of writing divided among 3-5 assignments. Of these 3-5 assignments, at least one should be revised and resubmitted. HASS CI subjects further offer students substantial opportunity for oral expression, through presentations, student-led discussions, or class participation. In order to guarantee sufficient attention to student writing and substantial

opportunity for oral expression, the maximum number of students per section in a HASS CI subject is 18.

Where to find MIT student course evaluations: check the MIT course evaluation website: <https://web.mit.edu/acadinfo/sse/courselist.html>, click on a department, then click on the course of your choice. Not to boast, but on average Course 17 courses gets the second-best evaluations among all MIT departments and sections!

On another important subject... For information on depression and suicide see the useful MIT medical website: <http://web.mit.edu/medical>, click on the "Sadness, Loss and Depression--Important Information" link, then the "Depression" and "Suicidal Thoughts" links, which take you to NIHM, ULifeline and other informative sites. If you or anyone you know is suffering depression, take action! This problem has solutions.

CLASS TOPICS

I. THEORIES AND STRATEGIES

Sept. 9: Introduction.

No readings assigned.

Sept. 14: Overview of American Foreign Policy Since 1914.

- H 1. A world map from The New York Times Magazine, November 7, 1976, p. 35, designed by Edwin O. Reischauer; tables from Paul Kennedy, Rise and Fall of the Great Powers, and Kenneth Oye, ed., Eagle in a New World. Class discussion will focus on the map and tables 6, 17, 18, 31, 35, 4-1, and chart 2 on pages 3, 6, 7, 15, 16, 19, and 20 (handwritten numeration), so study these items with more care; skim the rest.

Sept. 16, 21, 23: Theories of American Foreign Policy.

- S 1. Stephen Van Evera, "Offense, Defense and the Causes of War," manuscript, pp. 1-36. Your instructor's summary of the argument, made famous by Robert Jervis, that war is more likely when conquest is easy. A key related argument: international conflict arises largely from the "security dilemma"--the tendency of states to threaten others' security by their efforts to secure themselves.

Can the U.S. prevent war by making conquest hard in world trouble-spots? Have America's past conflict with others arisen from the security dilemma?

- S 2. Stephen Walt, The Origins of Alliances, chapter 2 ("Explaining Alliance Formation"), pp. 17-49. Walt presents competing hypotheses on how states choose their friends. Which hypotheses are valid? Do your answers matter for the kind of foreign policy you would recommend?
- S 3. Robert Jervis, Perception and Misperception in International Politics (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1976), pp. 58-84. Some ("spiral model" advocates) say international conflict is best resolved by the carrot, while using the stick merely provokes; others ("deterrence" advocates) would use the stick, warning that offering carrots ("appeasement") leads others to make more demands. Who's right? Probably both--but under what circumstances? And how can you tell which circumstances you face?
- S 4. Daniel Gilbert, "He Who Cast the First Stone Probably Didn't," New York Times, July 24, 2006. Why do spirals happen? Gilbert describes research noting that people underestimate their own

aggressive conduct and exaggerate others' aggressive conduct. This makes for conflict spirals.

- S 5. Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas, The Wise Men: Six Friends and the World They Made (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986), pp. 171-173, 731-733. Does the American foreign policy elite share America's wider democratic values? We learn here that George Kennan thought women, blacks, and immigrants should be denied the vote; Kennan and Dean Acheson saw little wrong with the white minority governments in Rhodesia and South Africa; and John McCloy adopted the cause of Iran's Pahlevi family. Not your typical League of Women Voters views.
- S 6. Seymour Hersh, The Price of Power (NY: Summit, 1983), pp. 108-111. What to make of the attitudes of Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, and Alexander Haig reported here? (Are such attitudes widespread among foreign policymakers? Do such attitudes matter?)
- S 7. David Pearson, "The Media and Government Deception," Propaganda Review, Spring 1989, pp. 6-11. Pearson thinks the American press is obedient to official views, and afraid to criticize. Anti-establishment paranoia or the real picture?
- S 8. Marion Just and Tom Rosenstiel, "All the News That's Fed," New York Times, March 27, 2005. Television runs press-release videos handed them by powerful interests in order to save money and thicken the bottom line. TV is a business. It helps those who help it cut costs. Keeping you informed is not its purpose.
- S 9. Eason Jordan, "The News We Kept To Ourselves," New York Times, April 11, 2003. The press can be cowed into practicing self-censorship. This allows tyrants to intimidate the press into painting themselves in rose-colored hues.
- S 10. Nicholas Kristof, "Save Our Spooks," New York Times, May 30, 2003. Governments misperceive the world if their intelligence agencies misreport foreign realities. This can happen if government leaders press their intelligence agencies to tell the leaders what they want to hear regardless of the facts.
- S 11. Michael R. Beschloss, "Foreign Policy's Big Moment," New York Times, April 11, 1999, p. 4/17. Claimed here: during political campaigns U.S. politicians pander to U.S. voters by framing dangerous foreign policy positions that they cannot abandon once in office. The country is thereby led into folly. A corollary: a prime threat to America is ... an American public that responds well to irresponsible pandering.
- S 12. Patricia Cohen, "Great Caesar's Ghost! Are Traditional History Courses Vanishing?", New York Times, **June 11, 2009**. The study of political, diplomatic and military history is being marginalized or destroyed in American universities. Some find this dangerous.

Will an increasingly ignorant American public will choose unwisely on fateful security matters? As Santayana warned: "Those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it."

Sept. 28, 30, Oct. 5: American interests and grand strategies.

- B 1. Gaddis, Strategies of Containment, pp. 3-52. George Kennan was a prime intellectual architect of America's Cold War containment policy. In pages 24-52 Gaddis explicates his ideas.
- S 2. Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross, "Competing U.S. Grand Strategies," in Strategy and Force Planning Faculty, eds., Strategy and Force Planning (Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1995), pp. 115-134. A survey of four contending post-Cold War grand strategies. Which strategy is best? (Is this list complete?)
- S 3. David E. Sanger, "Bush to Formalize A Defense Policy of Hitting First," New York Times, June 17, 2002. The George W. Bush Administration embraced a general doctrine of preventive war against rogue states that aspire to develop weapons of mass destruction. Iraq was only the first rogue state on its hit list: Syria and Iran were also high on the list; Libya and Saudi Arabia were further down. Are such preventive wars a good idea?
- S 4. Keir A. Lieber and Robert J. Lieber, "The Bush National Security Strategy," U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda, An Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State, Vol. 7, No. 4 (December 2002). A friendly summary and assessment of the 2002 National Security Strategy of the United States of America (Washington D.C.: White House, September 2002), (NSS), the document that frames the main elements of the strategy selected by the George W. Bush administration, including its general doctrine of preventive war (see Sanger, "Bush to Formalize," directly above).
- S 5. "American Imperialism, Embraced," The New York Times Magazine, December 9, 2001 (2 pages); and Thomas E. Ricks, "Empire or Not? A Quiet Debate over U.S. Role," Washington Post, August 21, 2001 (3 pages). After 2000 Important elements of the U.S. conservative movement began arguing for a U.S. empire. Do Tom Donnelly and William Kristol have a good idea?
- S 6. Frank J. Gaffney, "Worldwide Value," National Review Online, November 5, 2004, pp. 1-3; and Jim Lobe, "Neocon Wish List," Foreign Policy in Focus, November 11, 2004, pp. 1-2. Gaffney, a prominent neoconservative, proposed seven goals for the second George W. Bush administration, including regime change in Iran and North Korea "one way or another," and "contending with China's increasingly fascistic trade and military policies." Lobe puts a negative spin on this program.

- S 7. G. John Ikenberry, "America's Imperial Ambition," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 5 (September/October 2002): 44-60. The Bush Administration has embarked on a fateful imperial rampage. It will end badly. Others will eventually coalesce to check the U.S.
- S 8. Stephen Van Evera, "American Foreign Policy for the New Era," in Stephen Van Evera, ed. How to Make America Safe: New Policies for National Security (Cambridge, MA: Tobin Project, 2006): 84-96. The U.S. should lead in forming a concert of major powers to address the prime threats to the U.S.: the spread of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), terrorists like al-Qaeda who would use WMD against the U.S.; and climate change. Imperial conduct by the U.S. would preclude such a concert and should therefore be eschewed.
- S 9. David E. Sanger and Peter Baker, "Obama Reorients Approach of National Security Strategy," New York Times, May 28, 2010. The Obama administration national security strategy drops the George W. Bush administration's unilateralist approach in favor of pursuing common action, and it downgrades the Bush emphasis on preventive war. It focuses on limiting WMD spread and halting climate change, as well as preventing terror.
- S 10. Ken Silverstein, "Their Men in Washington: Undercover with D.C.'s Lobbyists for Hire," Harper's Magazine (July 2007): 53-61. A revealing window on how foreign lobbies operate in Washington. Silverstein demonstrates that even the most odious foreign interests can hire very capable former U.S. government officials with strong connections to the government and the press.
- S 11. John Newhouse, "Diplomacy, Inc.: The Influence of Lobbies on U.S. Foreign Policy," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 88, No. 3 (May/June 2009): 73-92. Unlike other major powers the United States allows foreign lobbies free run of its national capitol. These foreign lobbies have large influence on US foreign policy. Is this a good idea? Do foreigners have Americans' best interests at heart? The answer is no.
- S 12. Michael Massing, "The Storm Over the Israel Lobby," The New York Review of Books, Vol. 53, No. 10 (June 8, 2006). An Israel lobby has strong influence over U.S. foreign policy toward the Mideast. But a famous article by two other authors, John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, also arcing that an Israel lobby strongly influences U.S. policy toward the Mideast, has major flaws.
- S 13. Nathan Guttman, "Pro-Israel Christians Mobilize in D.C.," The Jewish Daily Forward, July 21, 2007. A large and powerful group of evangelical Christians lobbies hard to prevent U.S. support for any land-for-peace settlement between Israel and its neighbors. These Christians are a powerful element of the Israel lobby.
- S 14. David Gergen, "There Is No 'Israel Lobby'," New York Daily News,

March 26, 2006. Gergen argues that there is no Israel lobby. Who's right? How can we tell?

- S 15. Chaim Kaufmann, "See No Evil," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 4 (July/August 2002): 142-149. The U.S. could have stopped genocide in Rwanda in 1994 and elsewhere but chose not to. Good choice? Should the U.S. intervene to prevent such horrors?
- S 16. Glenda Cooper, "U.S. Memos on Rwanda Cited," Boston Globe, August 23, 2001. More color on U.S. inaction in Rwanda.
- S 17. Nicholas D. Kristof, "Starved for Safety," New York Times, March 31, 2004. The Sudanese government has slaughtered several hundred thousand inconvenient people in the Darfur region of Sudan since 2003. Should the U.S. act against this horror? See Kristof's website for more columns on this horrific crime.
- S 18. Leslie H. Gelb and Justine A. Rosenthal, "The Rise of Ethics in Foreign Policy," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 82, No. 3 (May/June 2003): 2-7. Ethical concerns once played little role in U.S. foreign policy; now they have an important place at the table.
- S 19. Andrew C. Revkin, "Scientists Say a Quest for Clean Energy Must Begin Now," New York Times, November 1, 2002. As Revkin recounts, a recent study warns that we must start looking for clean energy sources now or we may destroy the planet. Later may be too late. No kidding. This will require broad international cooperation. Sadly we're not very good at international cooperation. Oh dear.
- S 20. Sujatha Byravan and Sudhir Chella Rajan, "Before the Flood," New York Times, May 9, 2005. It may already be too late to avoid major global warming. If so we will need wide international cooperation to alleviate the vast chaos and suffering that ensues from it, especially in the poor societies that will suffer most.
- S 21. Hans Troedsson and Anton Rychener, "When Influenza Takes Flight," New York Times, February 5, 2005. The 1918 flu killed 675,000 Americans--more than died in combat in the two World Wars combined. Bummer. Could it happen again? Maybe! The current avian flu in Asia is mighty scary. What's the answer? Worldwide preventive action. Again, everyone must cooperate. Hence this is a foreign policy problem. What are we doing about it? Washington is snoring away, oblivious of the gathering peril. Is your will up to date?

II. AMERICA'S MAJOR WARS: WORLD WAR I, WORLD WAR II, COLD WAR, & KOREA

Oct. 7, 12, 14: World War I and World War II.

- B 1. Paterson et al., American Foreign Policy (2005 ed.), pp. 67-91, 115-122, 125-133, 139-151, 172-213. A standard textbook history

of American policies before and during the two world wars.

- S 2. Stephen Van Evera, "The War on Terror: Forgotten Lessons from World War II," Middle East Policy, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Summer 2007): 59-68, online at http://web.mit.edu/ssp/people/vanevera/faculty_vanevera.html. Does history offer "lessons" for current policy? How should they be inferred? Here's an attempt to infer lessons for the war on terror from American success in World War II.

Oct. 19, 21: Cold War Origins and Conduct; the Korean War.

A. Cold War origins and conduct:

- B 1. Paterson et al., American Foreign Policy, pp. 221-248. A standard textbook account of the Cold Wars's origins, from a viewpoint somewhat critical of U.S. policy.

B. Korea:

- B 1. Paterson et al., American Foreign Policy, pp. 265-275.

III. INTERLUDE: U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY; THE TERROR WAR; U.S. FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY

Oct. 26: American National Security Policy, 1945-present.

- S 1. Amos A. Jordan, William J. Taylor, and Lawrence J. Korb, American National Security: Policy and Process, 4th ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), chapter 4 ("The Evolution of American National Security Policy"), pp. 63-86.
- B 2. Gaddis, Strategies of Containment, pp. 53-196. Review also pp. 3-52 (assigned above in September). An excellent analytic account of American security policy under Truman and Eisenhower, by a leading American historian.
- S 3. Martin Rees, Our Final Hour: A Scientist's Warning: How Terror, Error, and Environmental Disaster Threaten Humankind's Future in this Century--On Earth and Beyond (NY: Basic Books, 2003): 41-60, 73-88. The advance of science has a fearsome byproduct: we are discovering ever more powerful means of destruction. These destructive powers are being democratized: the mayhem that only major states can do today may lie within the capacity of millions of individuals in the future unless we somehow change course. Deterrence works against states but will fail against crazed non-state organizations or individuals. How can the spread of destructive powers be controlled?

For more on controlling the longterm bioweapons danger see

www.cisssm.umd.edu/documents/pathogensmonograph.pdf

- S 4. Henry C. Kelly, "Terrorism and the Biology Lab," New York Times, July 2, 2003. The biology profession must realize that its research, if left unregulated, could produce discoveries that gravely threaten our safety. Biologists must develop a strategy to keep biology from being used for destructive ends.
- S 5. Matthew Meselson, "Averting the Hostile Exploitation of Biotechnology," CBWCB, June 2000: 16-19. We must pursue arms control measures to limit the spread of biological weapons.
- S 6. Graham Allison, "Fast Action Needed to Avert Nuclear Terror Strike on U.S.," Baltimore Sun, July 2, 2007. The threat of nuclear terror is very real.
- S 7. Carla Anne Robbins, "Thinking the Unthinkable: A World Without Nuclear Weapons," New York Times, June 30, 2008 (1 page). Former nuclear hawks George Shultz, Henry Kissinger, William Perry and Sam Nunn want to pursue global nuclear disarmament. A radical idea from very establishment people. Should we do this?
- S 8. Frederick Seitz, "Missile Defense Isn't Rocket Science," Wall Street Journal, July 7, 2000. A positive view of national missile defense.

For more discussion of the latest U.S. strategy statement see the "Defense Strategy Review Page" of the Project on Defense Alternatives, at www.comw.org/qdr/.

Oct. 28, Nov. 2: The U.S. War on Terror.

- B 1. Bruce Riedel, The Search for Al-Qaeda: Its Leadership, Ideology, and Future (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2008): pp. 14-36, 116-133, 134-154 (chapters 2, 6, and 7, which are "The Thinker: Al-Zawahiri," "Al-Qaeda's Plans," and "How To Defeat Al-Qaeda"). Highly recommended as an extra reading is Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, The Age of Sacred Terror 2nd ed. (NY: Random House, 2003), especially pages 38-55, 61-68, and 91-94, which describe the Islamist currents of thinking that spawned Osama Bin Laden's Al Qaeda and the frightening rise of apocalyptic thinking in the Islamic world; and **pp. 219-233 and 447-489**, which survey and evaluate the Clinton administration and Bush administration counter-terror strategies and policies.
- S 2. National Defense Strategy of the United States of America (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, March 2005): 6-9. This summarizes official thinking on how to defeat Al Qaeda. Note the list on page 8 of eight major terrorist vulnerabilities to be targeted. Behind this strategy is the view that terrorist networks are like organisms whose care and feeding can be

disrupted if their needs are understood.

- S 3. Stephen Schwartz, "The Real Saudi Arabia," Wall Street Journal, May 15, 2003; and Sulaiman Al-Hattan, "Homegrown Fanatics," New York Times, May 15, 2003. Saudi Arabian society is dominated by a hateful and xenophobic version of Islam--Wahhabism. Unless Wahhabism is tempered Saudi Arabia will export more terror against the non-Muslim world.
- S 4. Husain Haqqani, "Extremism Still Thrives in Pakistan," International Herald Tribune, July 19, 2005. Pakistan is in the throes of something bad, but what is it? Religious extremism? Militarism? How should the U.S. respond?
- S 5. Stephen Van Evera, "Bush Administration, Weak on Terror," Middle East Policy, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Winter 2006): 28-38, online at http://web.mit.edu/ssp/people/vanevera/faculty_vanevera.html. A proposed strategy against al-Qaeda, and a critical assessment of Bush administration policies. There is some overlap with Van Evera, "The War on Terror: Forgotten Lessons from World War II," assigned above, apologies for that.

For more on Al Qaeda and the war on terror see www.lib.edu/govdoc/911.html, where Al Qaeda statements and other information are found.

Nov. 4: American Foreign Economic Policy, 1945-present.

- S 1. "World Trade: Jousting for Advantage," The Economist, September 22, 1990, pp. 12-19, "The Economics of Free Trade," which explicates David Ricardo's theory of comparative advantage.
- S 2. "Pakistanis Fume as Clothing Sales to U.S. Tumble," New York Times, June 23, 2002. The U.S. could provide large benefit to the poor of Pakistan by dropping its barriers to the import of Pakistani textiles. This could also jolly up the Pakistanis to support the U.S. terror war. But the U.S. textile lobby won't allow it. U.S. special interests override the U.S. national interest. Too bad for you and me.
- S 3. "Raising Farm Subsidies, U.S. Widens International Rift," New York Times, June 15, 2002. The U.S. waves the free trade banner--except when it doesn't want to. U.S. strictures on imports of agricultural products and textiles are a major blow to the world's poor.
- S 4. Judy Shelton, "More Aid? Sounds Great. But Wait ...," Wall Street Journal, February 15, 2002. Shoving money at poor states doesn't make them richer. Instead western societies should help poor states improve their governance--i.e., to control corruption and bolster the rule of law. Better economic performance will follow.

IV. COLD WAR CRISES: BERLIN, TAIWAN STRAITS, AND CUBA 1962

Nov. 9, 16: The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis; other Cold War Crises.

- B 1. Paterson et al., American Foreign Policy, pp. 291-295, 337-342. Standard synopses of the Taiwan Straits crises and the Cuban Missile Crisis.
- B 2. Kennedy, Thirteen Days, pp. 1-106. A gripping memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis by a central participant.
- S 3. Fred Kaplan, "Kennedy and Cuba at 35," Boston Sunday Globe, October 12, 1997, pp. D1-D3. Later revelations about the Cuban Missile Crisis. JFK was the most dovish official in the government. He secretly traded the U.S. Jupiter missiles in Turkey for the Soviet missiles in Cuba. He was willing to give even further if needed. What if someone else had been president?
- S 4. Jean Edward Smith, "The Peace Presidents," New York Times, May 9, 2007. Is history written to emphasize the uses of force by Presidents, and to downplay their horse trading and compromise? The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis was settled by concessions from both sides, although Kennedy hid the U.S. concessions from public view and painted the outcome as a pure Soviet backdown. Smith notes that other war-hero presidents, including Grant and Eisenhower, eschewed force and cut deals at important moments, and more often than popular history remembers. Grant was quite a peacenick! George Washington also stood against strong hawkish criticism to reach Jay's treaty, which avoided war with Britain; and John Adams resisted strong demands for war with France, losing office as a result. But their policies look good in retrospect.

For more on the Cuban Missile Crisis you can visit an excellent website on the crisis put together by the National Security Archive at www.nsarchive.org/nsa/cuba_mis_cri. Documents can be seen, tapes can be listened to, and intelligence photos can be viewed at this site. And for more sources on the crisis see a website from Harvard's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, www.cubanmissilecrisis.org.

V. AMERICAN INTERVENTIONS IN THE THIRD WORLD

Nov. 18, 23: The Indochina War, 1950-1975.

- B 1. Paterson et al., American Foreign Policy, pp. 316-335, 342-356.
- B 2. Herring, America's Longest War, chapters 4 and 7 (pp. 121-157, 242-283). A more detailed account, from a middle-of-the-road perspective, of the key decisions to escalate and de-escalate the war. Herring's book is the most prominent general history of the war.

- S 3. Lyndon B. Johnson, "American Policy in Viet-Nam," in Marcus G. Raskin and Bernard B. Fall, eds. The Viet-Nam Reader (NY: Vintage, 1967), pp. 343-351. This statement, Johnson's famous Johns Hopkins University speech of April 7, 1965, was the fullest official explication of the case for the war.
- S 4. Sol W. Sanders & William Henderson, "The Consequences of 'Vietnam'", Orbis, vol. 21, no. 1 (Spring 1977), pp. 61-76. The authors re-evaluate the propositions at issue in the debate over the war, concluding that postwar events show that the hawks were right and the doves wrong.
- S 5. Clark Clifford with Richard Holbrooke, Counsel to the President (NY: Random House, 1991), pp. 612-614. A short counterpoint to Sanders and Henderson.

Nov. 30, Dec. 2: Other American interventions: those of 1900-1934 (Panama, Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Mexico, Russia); 1945-1993 (Iran 1953, Guatemala 1954, Chile 1973, Angola 1975, Indonesia 1957, Guyana 1964, Congo 1960ff, the wars of the Reagan Doctrine, Panama 1989, Persian Gulf 1991, Somalia 1992-93); and non-interventions (Mexico in 1930s; Bolivia in 1950s).

- B 1. Paterson et al., American Foreign Policy, pp. 33-51, 96-99, 151-160, 163-165, 382-386, 442-447, 482-496.
- S 2. Richard J. Barnet, Intervention and Revolution: America's Confrontation with Insurgent Movements Around the World (New York: Meridian, 1972), chapter 10 ("The Subversion of Undesirable Governments"), pp. 264-293. A short history of some of the better-known CIA Cold War covert operations.
- S 3. Peter J. Schraeder, "Paramilitary Intervention," in Peter J. Schraeder, ed., Intervention Into the 1990s, 2nd ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1992), chapter 8, pp. 131-151; focus on pp. 137-149 ("The Reagan Doctrine and Paramilitary Intervention"), skim the rest. The four wars waged under the rubric of the Reagan Doctrine are described here.
- S 4. Kenneth Pollack, The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq (NY: Random House, 2002): 11-54. How did the U.S. confrontation with Saddam Hussein develop? Pollack offers good background.
- S 5. James Bamford, A Pretext for War: 9/11, Iraq, and the Abuse of America's Intelligence Agencies (NY: Anchor, 2005): 253-270 (skim 253-260, read 260-269). On the neoconservative agenda. Also worthwhile on the neoconservatives but not assigned are pp. 277-282. And see chapter 13 (pp. 333-366) on "intelligence to please."
- S 6. Tom Zeller, "Building Democracy is Not a Science," New York Times,

April 27, 2003. The United States' mixed record at exporting democracy by intervention is summarized here.

Another reading may be handed out on the 2003ff Iraq war.

VI. THE ROAD AHEAD: CURRENT CRISES AND FUTURE POLICIES

December 7, 9: Current issues and crises; assessment of Bush and Obama administration's foreign policies; the future of American foreign policy.

- S 1. Samuel P. Huntington, "The Coming Clash of Civilizations: Or, the West Against the Rest," New York Times, June 6, 1993, p. E19. Humankind will again be at its own throat, this time in a confrontation of great civilizations.
- S 2. Douglas Jehl, "U.S. Panel Sees Iraq as Terror Training Area," New York Times, January 14, 2005. Another peer into the future, perhaps even more worrying. A National Intelligence Council panel describes world in 2020 in which political Islam remains a potent force and biological and nuclear terrorism remain large dangers.
- S 3. Scott Shane, "Global Forecast by American Intelligence Expects Al Qaeda's Appeal to Falter," New York Times, November 21, 2008. Yet another peer into the future. The good news is that al-Qaeda may fade by 2025. The bad news is that the United States is fading too, and will grow weaker relative to other powers in coming decades. The world will increasingly be riven by conflict over scarce food and water, threatened by rogue states and terrorists who may be armed with WMD, and damaged by climate change. How cheery.
- S 4. Robert Kagan, "China's No. 1 Enemy," New York Times, May 11, 1999, p. A27. China hates the United States. Appeasing China will only encourage Chinese expansionism and bring on a Sino-American clash. Let's get tough on China.
 Note: Since Kagan wrote, the George W. Bush administration cooperated productively with China against the grave threat posed by North Korea's advancing nuclear weapons program. What light does this shed on Kagan's argument?
- S 5. Nicholas D. Kristof, "The Nuclear Shadow," New York Times, August 14, 2004. We are losing control of nuclear weapons. No one in Washington seems to care. A collective snore is heard from the government. This is a recipe for immense calamity. Isn't it obvious that unless we take strong action terrorists will eventually get hold of nuclear materials, make nuclear weapons, and nuke us until we glow?
- S 6. George Perkovich, "Bush's Nuclear Revolution," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 82, No. 2 (March/April 2003): 2-8. A traditional arms controller's view of how to limit nuclear proliferation:

"Strengthen treaties that limit proliferation; downsize the U.S. nuclear arsenal; move toward total nuclear disarmament." Is this sensible? Is total nuclear disarmament a feasible or practical goal?

- S 7. Howard W. French, "When Liberians Looked to America in Vain," New York Times, July 13, 2003. In the 1980s and 1990s the United States turned a blind eye toward the bloody rampages of Liberian dictators Samuel K. Doe and Charles Taylor. They then ignited vicious wars that spread to the wider West African region.
- S 8. "Robert H. Frank, "A Small Price for a Large Benefit," New York Times, February 21, 2010. Climate change is real and dangerous. We face a 10 percent chance of a catastrophic 12-degree climb in temperatures by 2100. And: we can prevent catastrophic climate change at modest cost. Maybe we should do it!
- S 9. Thomas Homer-Dixon, "Terror in the Weather Forecast," New York Times, April 24, 2007. Climate change will cause failed states, terrorism, and vast force migrations, triggering civil and international war. How cheery.
- S 10. Cornelia Dean, "Views of Scientists and Public in Conflict, Survey Finds," New York Times, July 10, 2009. The U.S. public and the U.S. scientific community inhabit different realities. For example: Half of the U.S. public does not believe that human activity is causing climate change. Public policy will not be informed by scientific knowledge while this situation persists.
- S 11. Review again Keir A. Lieber and Robert J. Lieber, "The Bush National Security Strategy," U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda, An Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State, Vol. 7, No. 4 (December 2002); and David E. Sanger and Peter Baker, "Obama Reorients Approach of National Security Strategy," New York Times, May 28, 2010; both assigned above on page 6.
- S 12. Tyler Marshall, "Bush's Foreign Policy Shifting," Los Angeles Times, June 5, 2005. Spreading democracy was a top G.W. Bush administration priority for a time. Some observers thought this goal impractical.
- S 13. Fareed Zakaria, "How To Change Ugly Regimes," Newsweek, June 27, 2005 (also posted on MSNBC.com, July 1, 2005). The George W. Bush administration tried to oust dictators by isolating and snarling at them. This didn't work--in fact it backfired. Such a U.S. policy has helped keep Castro in power in Cuba for nearly five decades. It also failed with Iran and North Korea. Instead a loving embrace will destroy such dictators.
- S 14. Stephen Van Evera, "Why U.S. National Security Requires Mideast Peace" (MIT Center for International Studies, Audit of the Conventional Wisdom 05-5, May 2005, online at

web.mit.edu/cis/pdf/Audit_5_05_VanEvera.pdf). To win the war on Al Qaeda the United States must change the terms of debate in the Muslim world. To do this the U.S. must end the Israel-Palestinian conflict. Moreover conditions are ripe for a U.S. push for peace to succeed.

- S 15. Clyde Prestowitz, "Why Don't We Listen More," Washington Post, July 7, 2002. Bush lost the U.S. friends by acting with little regard for their interests and ideas. Instead the U.S. should consult its friends and take their interests into account before acting.

FURTHER READING

Readings denoted below with a "###" are on reserve at Dewey library.

Historiographical surveys on American foreign policy:

- ## Jerald A. Combs, American Diplomatic History: Two Centuries of Changing Interpretations (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983). An excellent overview of American diplomatic historiography.
- Robert Schulzinger, ed., A Companion to American Foreign Relations (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003).
- John M. Carroll and George C. Herring, eds., Modern American Diplomacy, rev. ed. (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1996). A collection of bibliographic review essays on aspects of American diplomatic history.
- Gerald K. Haines and J. Samuel Walker, eds., American Foreign Relations: A Historiographical Review (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981). Like Carroll & Herring, a collection of bibliographic review essays.
- Michael Hogan, ed., America and the World: The Historiography of American Foreign Relations since 1941 (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Fourteen historiographical reviews, most from the journal Diplomatic History.
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- Myron J. Smith, Jr., The Secret Wars: A Guide to Sources in English. Vol. 2: Intelligence, Propaganda and Psychological Warfare, Covert Operations, 1945-1980 (Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, 1981)

For more bibliographies see also:

Foreign Affairs: this journal's "Recent Books on International Relations" section reviews most important books on U.S. foreign policy.

American Historical Review: more than half of this journal is devoted to useful book reviews, many of books on U.S. foreign relations.

Thomas G. Paterson, J. Garry Clifford, Shane J. Maddock, Deborah Kisatsky, and Kenneth J. Hagan, American Foreign Relations: A History Since 1895, 6th ed. (2005); this text (assigned for this course) has useful bibliographical notes at the ends of chapters.

Jerald A. Combs, The History of American Foreign Policy, 2 vols. (NY: Knopf,

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his text also has useful bibliographical notes at the ends of chapters.

Websites to consult:

www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/meria/research-g/us-policy.html. This site is a research guide to internet resources on American foreign policy. See other websites referenced there.

<http://anacreon.clas.uconn.edu/~pressman/documents.htm>. This website collects a range of documents on U.S. foreign policy and has links to other important websites. The focus is on the war on terror and the mideast but many other subjects are covered. Organized by Professor Jeremy Pressman of the University of Connecticut.

www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/. This is the National Security Archive website, an excellent source of primary documents about U.S. foreign and security policy.

For more bibliographies, encyclopedias, and relevant websites see appendix 1 in Marc Trachtenberg, The Craft of International History: A Guide to Method (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006). It is a gold mine.

Textbooks and surveys:

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Jerald A. Combs, The History of American Foreign Policy, 2 vols. (NY: Knopf, 1986)

Howard Jones, Crucible of Power: A History of American Foreign Relations to 1913 (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002)

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Frederick H. Hartmann and Robert L. Wendzel, America's Foreign Policy in a Changing World (NY: HarperCollins, 1994)

Richard A. Melanson, American Foreign Policy Since the Vietnam War (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998)

George F. Kennan, American Diplomacy, 1900-1950 (NY: New American Library, 1951)

John G. Stoessinger, Nations in Darkness: Russia, China, and America, 5th ed. (NY: McGraw, 1990) (An interpretive survey.)

Historical document & essay collections:

Thomas G. Paterson and Dennis Merrill, eds., Major Problems in American Foreign Relations, 2 vols, 4th ed. (Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1994)

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Journals:

Foreign Affairs. The first and most famous journal of American foreign policy opinion. Published by the Council on Foreign Relations. For many decades it offered yawnsome pontifications by senior officials who repeated conventional wisdoms but now covers many issues very well.

Foreign Policy. A prominent if irritatingly undocumented journal of current policy.

Diplomatic History. The main journal covering American diplomatic history.

Journal of Cold War History. A good new history journal.

International Security. The leading American journal of military and foreign policy.

Security Studies. Another journal of military and foreign policy.

The National Interest. The leading conservative foreign policy journal.

Survival. A Europe-oriented journal of military and foreign policy.

American Historical Review. A general historical journal that once gave good coverage to American diplomatic history but has lately drifted into postmodern gibberizing.

Press and radio on world affairs:

The Economist. A British weekly newsmagazine. The best single printed news source on current world affairs.

The Far Eastern Economic Review. A fine monthly newsmagazine covering Asian affairs.

BBC World Service. Good world news coverage, aired in Boston at 9:00-10:00 a.m. and 11:00p.m.-2:00 a.m. weekdays, and 4:00-5:00 Saturdays and Sundays, on WBUR (90.9 FM radio). Less fun than KISS 108 but better for your brain.

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Mohammed E. Ahrari, ed., Ethnic Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1987)

Alexander DeConde, Race, Ethnicity and American Foreign Policy: A History (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992)

John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy (NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007)

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Michael Massing, "The Storm Over the Israel Lobby," The New York Review of Books, Vol. 53, No. 10 (June 8, 2006).

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- Thomas E. Ricks, Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq (New York: Penguin Press, 2006)
- Michael Isikoff and David Corn, Hubris: The Inside Story of Spin, Scandal, and the Selling of the Iraq War (New York: Crown Publishers, 2006)
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- James Bamford, A Pretext for War: 9/11, Iraq, and the Abuse of America's Intelligence Agencies (NY: Anchor, 2005)
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- Stanley A. Renshon, National Security in the Obama Administration: Reassessing the Bush Doctrine (NY: Taylor and Francis, 2009). A strong defense of the Bush administration's policies.
- John Lewis Gaddis, Surprise, Security, and the American Experience (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 2004). Gaddis defends the 2002 Bush national security strategy and puts it in historical context.
- Chalmers Johnson, The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic (New York: Metropolitan, 2004)
- John Newhouse, Imperial America: The Bush Assault on World Order (NY: A.A. Knopf, 2003)
- Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay, America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2003)
- William Kristol and Robert Kagan, Present Dangers: Crisis and Opportunity in American Foreign and Defense Policy (San Francisco: Encounter, 2000)
- Michael Lind, Made in Texas: George W. Bush and the Southern Takeover of American Politics (NY: Basic Books, 2003): 128-159.
- Clyde Prestowitz, Rogue Nation: American Unilateralism and the Failure of Good

Intentions (NY: Basic Books, 2003)

Michael Hirsch, At War with Ourselves: Why America Is Squandering Its Chance to Build a Better World (NY: Oxford University Press, 2003)

Robert G. Kaiser and Steven Mufson, "'Blue Team' Draws a Hard Line on Beijing: Action on Hill Reflects Informal Group's Clout," Washington Post, February 22, 2000. A tutorial on the "Blue Team" and its influence on U.S. policy toward China and Taiwan.

On the ideas and activities of the neoconservatives, who have large influence in the George W. Bush administration, an informative blog is: LobeLog.com.

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17.40 // American Foreign Policy // MIT
Stephen Van Evera / Adapted from Dan Lindley
September 8, 2010

Section Presentations: What They Are

Top policy makers are often asked to present their views on important foreign and security policy matters to the National Security Council (NSC), the key Executive Branch forum where such matters are discussed. In our sections you will also be asked to present to the NSC. As in a real NSC appearance you will give a short presentation and then you will be questioned by an opinionated and perhaps skeptical panel that includes the President of the United States and some Cabinet officers. You should assume that the meeting is held in tight secrecy. There is no point in playing to the cameras because there aren't any. But you better impress the President or he/she might fire you!

Your presentation will last five (5) minutes. If you run over you may be cut off. Your presentation should include (1) an argument, and (2) supporting evidence or reasoning. Your TA and your fellow students will then pose questions and ask you to address counter-arguments, in role as NSC members. Be prepared to defend your argument with deductive or historical evidence.

You choose the topic of your presentation. You can make an argument that reacts to an issue raised in class or in the course readings, or you can address a subject of special concern to you. Your presentation can overlap with your paper topic.

We suggest that you bring an outline of your presentation and either hand it out or put it up on the blackboard, to help your audience follow your argument.

We also suggest that you summarize your argument in a couple of sentences before marching through it. Again, this makes you easier to follow.

We recommend that you practice your speech a couple of times--to the mirror or, better still, to a friend--before giving it. You can also practice using the facilities of MIT's writing and Communications Center (14N-317, 253-3090, <http://web.mit.edu/writing>), and can get helpful advice from their staff.

The NSC sometimes hears differing views in its deliberations. Accordingly we will try to organize presentations as debates between two members of the section who frame different views of an issue.

Reminder: you are also required to provide your TA with a two-page (doublespaced) paper summarizing your talk, due on the day you speak.

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SCHEDULE FOR 17.40

Sept.

T 9: First day of class.

M-F 13-17: First section meetings.

M-F 27-Oct. 1: Response paper due in sections (2 pages).

Oct.

R 7: Quiz in class.

Nov.

T 2: Drafts of first paper due in class.

T 9: First paper due in class (8 pages).

T 16: Quiz in class.

W 24: Drafts of second paper due.

Dec.

R 2: Second paper due in class (8 pages).

R 9: Last day of class.

U.S. Foreign Policy. The United States Forgot Its Strategy for Winning Cold Wars. The plan that worked to defeat the Soviet Union can work today against China—it's just not what you think. Adding 8,000 foreign service officers won't solve America's diplomatic problems. State needs to prioritize data science, expand strategic planning, and encourage mid-career training, too.

Argument |. The foreign policy of the United States is its interactions with foreign nations and how it sets standards of interaction for its organizations, corporations and system citizens of the United States. The officially stated goals of the foreign policy of the United States of America, including all the Bureaus and Offices in the United States Department of State, as mentioned in the Foreign Policy Agenda of the Department of State, are "to build and sustain a more democratic, secure, and prosperous world