AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Course mission: to explain and evaluate America's past and present foreign policies. What caused America's past involvement in foreign wars and interventions? Were the results of American policies good or bad? Would other policies have better served America and/or the wider world? Were the beliefs that guided American 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 American foreign policy in the 20th century is covered in detail. Functional topics are also covered: American military policy, American foreign economic policy, and American 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 crises--e.g., in the Balkans, Central Africa, the Taiwan Straits, and the former Soviet Union? What should be America's stance on global environmental and human rights questions?

Format & Requirements: Class format: two 1-hour general meetings and one 1-hour discussion section meeting per week. Class starts promptly at 11:05, ends at 11:55. Grades are based on section participation (15%), two short papers (40%), final exam (30%), and two quizzes (15%). Students must also complete three ungraded response papers that react to class readings and lectures. The five writing assignments will total 20 pages. Thus this course conforms to the mechanical requirements for all HASS-D courses.

* 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 "congressional hearings" where you are asked to frame and defend to the group a viewpoint on a foreign policy issue.

* Papers: students will write three short response papers that react to course readings and lectures, and two longer papers on questions arising from the course material. The first two response papers will be one page long (doublespaced--not 1.5 spaced, please), the third will be two pages. 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 first response paper is due the week of Sept. 25-29; the second is due the week of Oct. 9-13; the third is due the week of Oct. 23-27. The first 8-page paper is due at 11:00 a.m. (class time) on Thursday, November 9. The second is due at 11:00 a.m. on Thursday, December 5. Please leave yourself time to submit outlines or rough drafts of the 8-page papers to your TAs before you submit final drafts.
Your three response papers 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. The first two should be one page (double spaced), the third should be two pages (double spaced). They will not be graded but are 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.

* Quizzes: two short (15 minute) quizzes will be given. Quiz dates are October 5 (Thursday) and November 16 (Thursday). Three short (define-and-identify) questions will be asked 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 17.403 film society. Two optional evening film-showings will be organized during the term. Films on the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Vietnam War will be shown. Dates and places TBA.

This is an undergraduate course, but is open to graduate students.

Books to purchase, available at the MIT COOP bookstore:


These books are also on reserve at Dewey library (building E-53, on Wadsworth Street.) All other readings will be available as photocopied coursenotes, and can be purchased from the Technology Copy Center, in the basement of building E-52 (also on Wadsworth St.)

Also at the Coop, in the section for another course (17.428), should be a book that will improve your papers:


Turabian is not required for 17.403 but you will want to own a copy. She has
the basic rules for how to format footnotes, etc. Learn and obey them.

Readings in books available in the COOP bookstore are denoted below with a "B"; courses notes readings are denoted below with a "CN"; readings that are handed out in class are denoted below with an "H".

Some of the "further reading" (see p. 9, 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 85 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.
CLASS TOPICS

I. THEORIES AND STRATEGIES

Sept. 7: Introduction.
No readings assigned.

Sept. 12: Overview of American Foreign Policy Since 1914.

H 1. 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 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 seven with more care; the rest can be skimmed.

Sept. 14, 19, 21: Theories of American Foreign Policy. (123 pages assigned)

CN 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?

CN 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?

CN 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?

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.


Cold War grand strategies. Which strategy is best? (Is this list complete?)


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

Oct. 5, 12, 17, 19: World War I and World War II. (136 pages assigned)


Oct. 24, 26: Cold War Origins & Conduct; the Korean War. (107 pages assigned)

A. Cold War origins and conduct:


B. Korea:

B 1. Paterson, Clifford and Hagan, American Foreign Policy, pp. 266-275.

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


CN1. "World Trade: Jousting for Advantage," The Economist, September 22, 1990, pp. 5-25; and "World Trade: All Free Traders Now?", The Economist, December 7, 1996, pp. 21-23. The first item is a pro-free-trade survey of the basic questions in trade, and a preview of the now-passed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT), Uruguay Round. Focus on pp. 12-19, "The Economics of Free Trade," which explicates David Ricardo's theory of comparative advantage; you can skim the rest. The second item surveys later trade issues.


CN5. Review again Samuel Huntington, "America's Changed Strategic Interests," assigned above for Sept. 26--see his remarks on the importance of economic primacy.

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

Nov. 14, 16: The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis; other Cold War Crises. (116 pages assigned)


CN3. Fred Kaplan, "Kennedy and Cuba at 35," Boston Sunday Globe, October 12, 1997, pp. D1-D3. Recent 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?

V. AMERICAN INTERVENTIONS IN THE THIRD WORLD
Nov. 21, 28: The Indochina War, 1950-1975. (125 pages assigned)


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.


CN 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.


CN 1. Alexander L. George, "Epilogue: The Persian Gulf Crisis, 1990-
VI. THE ROAD AHEAD: CURRENT CRISES AND FUTURE POLICIES

December 7, 12: The Cold War's demise; current crises; the future of American foreign policy. (40 pages assigned)

CN 1. Frank Fukuyama, "The End of History?" in John T. Rourke, Taking Sides, 4th ed. (Guilford, Conn.: Dushkin, 1992), pp. 268-286. Fukuyama forecasts that the spread of democratic ideas will spread peace worldwide over the next several centuries, ending forever the cycle of wars that have plagued human history.


CN 7. Chas. W. Freeman, Jr., "Preventing War in the Taiwan Strait," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 77, No. 4 (July/August 1998), pp. 6-11. Taiwan could suck the U.S. into a Taiwan-PRC conflict unless the U.S. restrains Taiwan now.

CN 8. "Tables by Hannes Adomeit." Some alarming demographic data on the former USSR.

FURTHER READING

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

Historiographical surveys on American foreign policy:


Bibliographies on American foreign policy:


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.


Jerald A. Combs, *The History of American Foreign Policy*, 2 vols. (NY: Knopf, 1986); this text also has useful bibliographical notes at the ends of chapters.

Textbooks and surveys:

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

Historical document & essay collections:


Journals:

Diplomatic History. The main journal covering American diplomatic history.
Journal of Cold War History. A promising new history journal.
American Historical Review. A general historical journal that gives good coverage to American diplomatic history.
Foreign Policy. A prominent if irritatingly undocumented journal of current policy.
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. In the 1970s, and also more recently, it has shown marked signs of life.
Security Studies. Another journal of military and foreign policy.
The National Interest. The leading conservative foreign policy journal.

Press & radio on world affairs:

The Economist. A British weekly newsmagazine. The best single printed news source on current world affairs.
BBC World Service. Good world news coverage, aired in Boston at 9:00-10:00 a.m., 7:00-7:30 p.m., 10:00-10:30 p.m., and 12:00-1:00 a.m. daily on WBUR
(90.9 FM radio). Less fun than KISS 108 but better for your brain.

Readers on current policy questions:


John T. Rourke, *Taking Sides*, 4th ed. (Guilford, Conn.: Dushkin, 1992)

Theories of International Politics & of American Foreign Policy:


Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1979)


Peace Movements:


Foreign lobbies, propaganda, and the press as influences on American foreign policy:


American Grand Strategy:


The United States and Human Rights:


The United States and democracy:


Foreign aid and NGOs:


The United States and World War I:


Thomas J. Knock, To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order (NY: Oxford University Press, 1992)


J. Duane Squires, British Propaganda at Home and in the United States from 1914 to 1917 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935)


The United States and World War II:


Justus D. Doenecke, "U.S. Policy and the European War, 1939-1941," Diplomatic


Selig Adler, *The Uncertain Giant, 1921–1941: American Foreign Policy Between the Wars* (NY: Collier, 1965)


Origins of the Cold War:


Soviet-American relations, the Cold War:


Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945–1992*, 7th ed. (NY:
McGraw-Hill, 1993)
James A. Nathan and James K. Oliver, United States Foreign Policy and World
Order (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1989)
Raymond Garthoff, Detente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from
George F. Kennan, Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin (NY: New American
Library, 1960)

Chinese-American Relations:

Michael Schaller, The United States and China in the Twentieth Century, 2nd
ed. (NY: Oxford University Press, 1990)
Rosemary Foot, The Practice of Power: U.S. Relations with China since 1949
Harry Harding, A Fragile Relationship: The United States and China since 1972
(Washington, DC: Brookings, 1992)
John Stoessinger, Nations in Darkness--China, Russia, and America, 5th ed.
(McGraw, 1990)
(NY: Greenwood, 1992)
Hsiang-tse Chiang, The United States and China (Chicago: University of Chicago
Press, 1988)
Thomas J. Christensen, Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic
University Press, 1996)
Thomas J. Christensen, "A 'Lost Chance' For What? Rethinking the Origins of
No. 3 (Fall 1995), pp. 249-278.
David Shambaugh, Beautiful Imperialist: China Perceives America, 1972-1990
Chas. W. Freeman, "Sino-American Relations: Back to Basics," Foreign Policy,
Vol. 104 (Fall 1996), pp. 3-17.
Andrew J. Nathan and Robert S. Ross, The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress:
China's Search for Security (NY: W.W. Norton, 1997)
Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro, The Coming Conflict with China (NY: A.A.
Knopf, 1997)
Chi Wang, History of U.S.-China Relations: A Bibliographical Research Guide

The Korean War:

## Burton I. Kaufmann, The Korean War: Challenges in Crisis, Credibility, and
## Rosemary Foot, The Wrong War: American Policy and the Dimensions of the
## John W. Spanier, The Truman-MacArthur Controversy and the Korean War (NY:
W.W. Norton, 1965)
James A. Nathan and James K. Oliver, *United States Foreign Policy and World Order*, pp. 142-190.


**U.S. National Security Policy:**


U.S. Foreign Economic Policy:


Cold War Crises: Berlin, Offshore Islands, and Cuba 1962:

Berlin, 1948 & 1958-1962:


Offshore Islands:


Cuban Missile Crisis:


Elie Abel, The Missile Crisis (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1968)
Graham Allison, Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971)

The Indochina War:

## Marcus G. Raskin and Bernard B. Fall, eds. The Viet-Nam Reader (NY: Vintage, 1967)
## David Halberstam, The Best and the Brightest (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Crest, 1973)
## Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, The Indochina Story (NY: Bantam, 1970)
## Marvin E. Gettleman, Jane Franklin, Marilyn Young and H. Bruce Franklin, eds. Vietnam and America, A Documentary History (NY: Grove Press, 1985)
## Andrew J. Rotter, The Path to Vietnam: Origins of the American Commitment to
Southeast Asia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987)
Peter A. Poole, Eight Presidents and Indochina (Huntington, NY: Krieger, 1978)
Daniel Ellsberg, Papers on the War (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1972)

A bibliography is:


The Spanish-American-Filipino War, 1898-1902:

Encyclopedia (NY: Garland, 1994)


Robert L. Beisner, From the Old Diplomacy to the New, 1865-1900 (NY: Crowell, 1975)

Thomas G. Paterson and Stephen G. Rabe, eds., Imperial Surge: The United States Abroad, the 1890s-Early 1900s (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1992)


Daniel B. Schirmer, Republic or Empire: American Resistance to the Philippine War (Cambridge: Schenkman, 1972)


John Dobson, Reticent Expansionism: The Foreign Policy of William McKinley (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1988)

H.W. Brands, Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines (NY: Oxford University Press, 1992)


Elinor Fuchs & Joyce Antler, Year One of the Empire: A Play of American Politics, War and Protest Taken from the Historical Record (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1973)

Histories of other American interventions in the Third World:

The interventions of 1900-1934:


Overview of Cold War interventions:

Peter J. Schraeder, ed., *Intervention Into the 1990s*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1992)


Overviews of covert operations:


Iran 1953:


Guatemala 1954:


Bay of Pigs 1961:


Dominican Republic 1965:

Chile 1973:
Nathaniel Davis, The Last Two Years of Salvador Allende (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985)
Arturo Valenzuela, The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978)
U.S. Senate, 94th Congress, First Session, Hearings Before the Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, Vol. 7: Covert Action, pp. 144-203 ("Covert Action in Chile, 1963-73") (This is the Chile study of the "Church Committee Hearings.")

Angola 1975:

Central Americas in the 1980s:
Eldon Kenworthy, America/Américas: Myth in the Making of U.S. Policy Toward Latin America (University Park: Penn State Press, 1995)
Walter LaFeber, Inevitable Revolutions (Norton, 1984)
Robert Parry and Peter Kornbluh, "Iran-Contra's Untold Story," Foreign Policy, No. 72 (Fall 1988), pp. 3-30.

Reagan Doctrine, 1985-1991:

Persian Gulf War, 1991:

Analytical assessments of Third World intervention:
Richard Feinberg, The Intemperate Zone (WW Norton, 1983)

The end of the Cold War and the future of the World:
Paul Kennedy, Preparing for the Twenty-First Century (NY: Random House, 1993)
Michael Klare, Rogue States and Nuclear Outlaws: America's Search for a New Foreign Policy (NY: Hill & Wang, 1995)