

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS
SPRING 2008

G53.1735.001
Wednesday 4-6pm
19 West Fourth Street

Joseph M. Parent
jmp84@columbia.edu
Ofc hrs: Wed 6-8pm

Central Issues in American Foreign Policy

OVERVIEW:

This seminar focuses on current problems confronting American foreign policy. The class has three main aims: 1) sharpen students' use of social science to evaluate claims and understand the world, 2) improve students' ability to advance and defend arguments, in writing and speaking, 3) ground students in a broad base of knowledge about American foreign policy history and issues.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Quality of discussion (33%) and written work (67%) will determine final grades. Quality of discussion is a product of doing the reading, staying current on world events, attending class regularly, presenting one of the readings, asking intelligent questions, and contributing critical insights. The written component is wholly composed of a twenty to twenty-five page research paper, on a topic of the student's choosing. To spell this out with appropriate clarity:

- **Readings.** The readings are to be done in their entirety on the day they appear on the syllabus. Taking brief notes on each reading is highly recommended.
- **Newspapers.** Students should read the world news section of a major daily paper, or the online equivalent – e.g. *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Financial Times*, etc.
- **Attendance.** Regular attendance is indispensable to doing well in the class. Missing four or more classes profoundly jeopardizes your grade.
- **Presentation.** Every student will make a 5-7 minute presentation to the class on one of the course readings, plus distribute a one-page summary to each member of the class – hard copies only. During week two, students will select their reading.
- **Discussion.** Students are expected to demonstrate proficiency with the assigned works in discussion.
- **Term Paper.** Students must submit a maximum four-page paper proposal in week three, outlining the main research question, universe of cases, relevance, and preliminary sources. All work should be double spaced, twelve point font, with default margins. Final papers are due at the beginning of the last class, hard copy

only. Late papers may be emailed in, but they will be docked a full grade on the first day (until midnight) and a third of a grade for every day following.

POLICIES:

The standard caveats about academic honesty obtain. Collaboration is encouraged, but using the work of others without proper attribution will result in the matter being turned over immediately to the Dean's office. Written permissions from doctors and deans may excuse absences and tardiness, as would prior consent of the instructor. If you have any questions about anything related to this syllabus, please ask.

REQUIRED READINGS:

A course-pack can be picked up at the New University Copy Center between Mercer and Green streets. Many journal articles may be found at jstor.org. All readings are on reserve at Bobst Library. The following required texts are available for purchase at the NYU Bookstore:

- Jervis, Robert. 2005. *American Foreign Policy in a New Era*. New York: Routledge.
- Gaddis, John L. 2005. *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ikenberry, G. John ed. *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Brown, Michael E. et al. eds. 2000. *America's Strategic Choices, Revised Edition*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Brown, Michael E. et al. eds. 2000. *The Rise of China*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Brown, Michael E. et al. eds. 2004. *New Global Dangers: Changing Dimensions of International Security*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Brown, Michael E. et al. eds. 1998. *Theories of War and Peace*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Nagl, John, James F. Amos, and David Petraeus. 2007. *The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ricks, Thomas E. 2006. *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq*. New York: Penguin.

Schedule

Week 1

Introduction and social science writing

Reading: approx. 74 pp.

- Jervis, Robert. 2005. Theories of War in an Era of Leading-Power Peace and Understanding the Bush Doctrine. In *American Foreign Policy in a New Era*. New York: Routledge, chap. 1. Originally in the *American Political Science Review* 96, 1 (March 2002): 1-14.
- Gaddis, John L. 2005. The Nineteenth Century. In *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, chap. 1, pp. 7-33.
- Jervis, Robert. 2005. Understanding the Bush Doctrine. In *American Foreign Policy in a New Era*. New York: Routledge, chap. 4, pp. 79-102. Originally in *Political Science Quarterly* 118, 3 (Fall 2003): 365-88.

Recommended:

- Orwell, George. 1968. Politics and the English Language. In Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus eds. *In Front of Your Nose, 1945-1950*. Vol. 4 of Orwell's collected essays, journalism and letters. New York: Harcourt Brace, pp. 127-140.
- Nabokov, Vladimir. 1959. *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight*. New York: New Directions, chap. 12, pp. 111-114.
- Van Evera, Stephen. 1997. *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 7-35, 74-99.
- Coase, Ronald. 1995. How Should Economists Choose? In *Essays on Economics and Economists*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chap. 2, pp. 15-33.

Week 2

In medias res: whither balancing?

In-class signup for reading presentations

Reading: approx. pp. 174

- Kennedy, Paul. 2 February 2002. The Eagle Has Landed: The New U.S. Global Military Position. *Financial Times*. Available at: <http://www.uta.fi/FAST/US2/REF/pk-ft102.html>
- Wohlforth, William C. 2002. U.S. Strategy in a Unipolar World. In Ikenberry ed. *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power*. Princeton:

- Princeton University Press, chap. 3 pp. 98-120. Or see his “Hard Times for Soft Balancing,” (Stephen Brooks) *International Security* 30, 1 (Summer 2005): 72-108. Available at: <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~govt/docs/BrooksWohlforth-2005-IS%20article.pdf>
- Waltz, Kenneth. 2002. Structural Realism after the Cold War. In *ibid.*, chap. 1, pp. 29-67. Originally in *International Security* 25, 1 (Summer 2000): 5-41.
 - Joffe, Josef. 2002. Defying History and Theory: The United States as the “Last Remaining Superpower.” In *ibid.*, chap. 5, pp. 155-80.
 - Ikenberry, G.J. 2002. Democracy, Institutions, and American Restraint. In *ibid.*, chap. 7, pp. 213-238.
 - Katzenstein, Peter. 2005. *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 1-43.
 - Wohlforth, William C. The Elusive Balance of Power. In *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions During the Cold War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, chap. 10, pp. 293-307.

Week 3

America’s Grand Strategic Choices

Paper proposal due

Reading: approx. 201 pp.

- Morgenthau, Hans J. 1965 [1946]. The Moral Blindness of Scientific Man. In *Scientific Man Versus Power Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chap. 7, pp. 168-203.
- Posen, Barry and Andrew L. Ross. 2000. Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy. In *America’s Strategic Choices, Revised Edition*, Michael E. Brown et al. eds. Cambridge: MIT Press, part I, pp. 3-51.
- Gholz, Eugene, Daryl G. Press, and Harvey Sapolsky. 2000. Come Home America: The Strategy of Restraint in the Face of Temptation. In *ibid.*, part II, pp. 55-98.
- Gholz, Eugene, Daryl G. Press, and Benjamin Valentino. 12 December 2006. Time to Offshore Our Troops. *New York Times*, op-ed, p. A31.
- Layne, Christopher. 2000. From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America’s Future Grand Strategy. In *ibid.*, part II, pp. 99-137.
- Art, Robert J. 2000. Geopolitics Updated: The Strategy of Selective Engagement. In *ibid.*, part III, pp. 141-175.

Week 4

China

Paper proposals returned

Reading: approx. 190 pp.

- Goldstein, Avery. 2000. Great Expectations: Interpreting China's Arrival. In Michael E. Brown et al. eds. *The Rise of China*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, Part I, pp. 3-40.
- Shambaugh, David. 2000. China's Military Views the World: Ambivalent Security. In *ibid.*, Part I, pp. 105-32.
- Christensen, Thomas J. 2000. China, the U.S.-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia. In *ibid.*, Part II, pp. 135-66.
- Ross, Robert S. 2000. The Geography of the Peace: East Asia in the Twenty-first Century. In *ibid.*, pp. 167-204.
- Shambaugh, David. 2000. Containment or Engagement of China? Calculating Beijing's Response. In *ibid.*, Part III, pp. 207-36.
- Segal, Gerald. 2000. East Asia and the "Constrainment" of China. In *ibid.*, Part III, pp. 237-65.

Week 5

The European Union

Reading: approx. 216 pp.

- Joffe, Josef. 1984. Europe's American Pacifier. *Foreign Policy* 54: 64-82.
- Kupchan, Charles. 2004/2005. The Travails of Union: The American Experience and its Implications for Europe. *Survival* 46: 103-120.
- Parent, Joseph M. 2008. Europe's American Idol: What America's Unification Portends for Europe's Ever-Closer Union. *Political Science Quarterly*.
- Mattli, Walter. 1999. *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chap. 1, pp. 1-18.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1998. *The Choice for Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, introduction, pp. 1-17.
- Walt, Stephen. 1998/1999. The Ties that Fray: Why Europe and America are Drifting Apart. *National Interest* 54: 3-11.

- Posen, Barry. 2006. European Union Security and Defense Policy: Response to Unipolarity? *Security Studies* 15: 149-186.
- Layne, Christopher. 2003. America as European Hegemon. *National Interest* 72: 17-29.
- Jones, Seth G. 2007. *The Rise of European Security Cooperation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chap. 7, pp. 220-43.
- Weitsman, Patricia. 1997. Intimate Enemies: The Politics of Peacetime Alliances. *Security Studies* 7: 156-192.

Week 6

Disintegration of the USSR and its aftermath

Reading: approx. 128 pp.

- Kuran, Timur. 1997. *Private Truths, Public Lies: The Social Consequences of Preference Falsification*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, chaps. 1, 7, pp. 3-21, 118-127.
- Solnick, Steven. 1998. *Stealing the State: Control and Collapse in Soviet Institutions*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, chap. 2, pp. 24-41.
- Volkov, Vadim. 2002. The Politics of State Formation. In *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, chap. 6, pp. 155-91.
- Pipes, Richard. 2004. Flights From Freedom: What Russians Think and Want. *Foreign Affairs* 83, 3 (May/June).
- Goldman, Marshall I. 2004. Putin and the Oligarchs. *Foreign Affairs* 83, 6 (Nov/Dec): 33-44.
- Cooley, Alexander. 2005. Base Politics. *Foreign Affairs* 84, 6 (Nov/Dec): 79-92.
- Simes, Dimitri K. 2007. Losing Russia: The Costs of Renewed Confrontation. *Foreign Affairs* 86, 6 (Nov/Dec).

Week 7

Democracy Promotion

Reading: approx. 228 pp.

- Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr. 1999. The Theory of America: Experiment or Destiny? In *The Cycles of American History*. New York: Houghton Mifflin/Mariner, chap. 1, pp. 3-22.
- Monten, Jonathan. 2005. The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism, and Democracy Promotion in U.S. Strategy. *International Security* 29, 4: 112-56.
- Tilly, Charles. 2004. *Contention & Democracy in Europe, 1650-2000*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chap. 1, pp. 1-41.
- Barzun, Jacques. 1987. Is Democratic Theory for Export? *Ethics and International Affairs* 1. Also available on pp. 5-26 at:
http://www.cceia.org/media/268_barzun.pdf
- Kinzer, Stephen. 2006. Introduction. In *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*. New York: Times Books, pp. 1-6.
- LaFeber, Walter. 1993. Chapter 6 Conclusion. In *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America*. New York: Norton, pp. 362-68.
- Porter, Bruce. 1994. War and the American Government. In *War and the Rise of the State: The Military Foundations of Modern Politics*. New York: Free Press, chap. 7, pp. 243-96.
- Snyder, Jack. 2000. Averting Nationalist Conflict in an Age of Democratization. In *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. New York: Norton, chap. 7, pp. 313-53.

Week 8

Strength Beyond Challenge

Reading: approx. 208 pp.

- Gilpin, Robert. 1988. The Theory of Hegemonic War. In Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb eds. *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 15-38.
- Copeland, Dale C. 2000. Rethinking Realist Theories of Major War. In *The Origins of Major War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 11-34.
- Friedberg, Aaron. 1988. Change, Assessment, and Adaptation. In *The Weary Titan: Britain and the Experience of Relative Decline, 1895-1905*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chap. 6, pp. 279-91.
- Keohane, Robert O. 1984. The Value of Institutions and the Costs of Flexibility. In *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chap. 11, pp. 243-59.

- Mueller, John. 2004. The Decline of War: Explanations and Extrapolations. In *The Remnants of War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, chap. 9, pp. 161-82.
- Gibbon, Edward. 1993. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. New York: Everyman, vol. 1, chap. 2, pp. 65-68; vol. 3, chap. 31, pp. 327-328; vol. 4, chap. 38, pp. 117-127.

Week 9

Preventive War

Reading: approx. 224 pp.

- Gaddis, John L. 2005. The Twentieth Century and the Twenty-First Century. In *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, chaps. 3-4, pp. 35-113.
- Nagl, John, James F. Amos, and David Petraeus. 2007. Insurgency and Counterinsurgency. In *The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chap. 1, pp. 1-52.
- Ricks, Thomas E. 2006. *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq*. New York: Penguin, chaps. 1-3, Afterword and Postscript, pp. 3-45, 430-51.
- Edelstein, David M. 2004. Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail. *International Security* 29, 1: 49-91.
- Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 2003. Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *American Political Science Review* 97, 1: 75-90.
- Biddle, Stephen et al. 2006. What to Do in Iraq: A Roundtable. *Foreign Affairs* 85, 4: 150-69.

Week 10

Unilateralism

Reading: approx. 154 pp.

- Wohlforth, William and Stephen Brooks. 2005. International Relations Theory and the Case Against Unilateralism. *Perspectives on Politics* 3, 3: 509-24. Available at:
<http://www.dartmouth.edu/~govt/docs/BrooksWohlforth-Perspectives.pdf>
- Betts, Richard K. 2005. The Political Support System for American Primacy. *International Affairs* 81, 1: 1-14.

- Kennedy, Paul and Bruce Russett. 1995. Reforming the United Nations. *Foreign Affairs* 74, 5: 56-72.
- Mearsheimer, John J. and respondents. 1998. The False Promise of International Institutions. In *Theories of War and Peace*, Michael E. Brown et al. eds. Cambridge: MIT Press, part IV, pp. 329-438.

Week 11

Failed States

Reading: approx 195 pp.

- Spruyt, Hendrik. 1994. *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, introduction, chaps. 1-2, pp. 3-33.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2004. *State-Building*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, chap. 2, 4, pp. 43-91, 119-121.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2006. *Failed States: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy*. New York: Metropolitan, Afterword, pp. 251-263.
- Rotberg, Robert I. 2004. The Failure and Collapse of Nation-States: Breakdown, Prevention, and Repair. In Rotberg ed. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chap. 1, pp. 1-45.
- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2004. Let Them Fail: State Failure in Theory and Practice: Implications for Policy. In *ibid.*, chap. 14, pp. 302-318.
- Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2004. Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States. *International Security* 28, 4: 5-43.

Week 12

Post-conflict stability and justice

Reading: approx. 175 pp.

- Bass, Gary. 2000. *Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chap. 1, pp. 3-36.
- Krasner, Stephen D. 1999. *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chap. 8, pp. 220-238.
- Snyder, Jack and Leslie Vinjamuri. 2003/2004. Trials and Errors: Principles and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice. *International Security* 28, 3: 5-44.

- Doyle, Michael and Nicholas Sambanis. 2006. *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chap. 8, pp. 334-352.
- Fortna, Virginia Page. 2004. *Peace Time: Cease-Fire Agreements and the Durability of Peace*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chap. 6, pp. 173-210.
- Marten, Kimberly Zisk. 2004. *Enforcing the Peace: Learning from the Imperial Past*. New York: Columbia University Press, chap. 1, pp. 1-20.
- Gilligan, Michael and Stephen J. Stedman. 2003. Where Do the Peacekeepers Go? *International Studies Review* 5(4): 37-54.

Week 13

Changing Facets of American Foreign Policy

Reading: approx. 157 pp.

- Posen, Barry R. 2003. Command of the Commons: The Military Foundations of U.S. Hegemony. *International Security* 28, 1: 5-46. Also in Michael E. Brown et al. eds. 2004. *New Global Dangers: Changing Dimensions of International Security*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 3-44.
- Sagan, Scott D. 2004. Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb. In *ibid.*, pp. 45-77.
- Paris, Roland. 2004. Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air? In *ibid.*, pp. 249-264.
- Weiner, Myron. 2004. Security, Stability, and International Migration. In *ibid.*, pp. 301-336.
- Singer, P.W. 2004. Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry and Its Ramifications for International Security. In *ibid.*, pp. 512-546.

Week 14

The Environment and Conclusion

Final paper due

Reading: approx. 121 pp.

- Tainter, Joseph A. 1988. *The Collapse of Complex Societies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chap. 6, pp. 193-216.
- Diamond, Jared. 2005. The World as a Polder: What Does It All Mean to Us Today? In *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed*. New York: Penguin, chap. 16, pp. 486-525.

- Homer-Dixon, Thomas. 2004. Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases. In Michael E. Brown et al. eds. *New Global Dangers: Changing Dimensions of International Security*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 265-300.
- Simon, Julian. 2005. The Infinite Supply of Natural Resources. In *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*, Robert Art and Robert Jervis eds. 7th Edn. New York: Pearson Longman, pp. 531-38.
- Greenspan Bell, Ruth. 2006. What to Do About Climate Change. *Foreign Affairs* 85, 3: 105-14.
- Schelling, Thomas C. 2002. What Makes Greenhouse Sense? *Foreign Affairs* 81, 3: 2-9.

Recommended:

- Polybius. 2000 [ca. 140 BC]. Selection from Book 38, sections 20-22. In *The Histories*, W.R. Paton trans. Cambridge: Harvard University Press/Loeb Classical Library, pp. 435-439.
- Machiavelli, Niccolo. 1998 [ca. 1516]. *The Prince*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chap. 25, pp. 98-101.
- Tolstoy, Leo. 1996 [1869]. Selection from Book 10, section 1. In *War and Peace*, George Gibian trans. New York: W.W. Norton, pp. 607-609.
- Kennan, George F. 1993. *Around the Cragged Hill: A Personal and Political Philosophy*. New York: Norton, epilogue, pp. 251-59.