

WWS 546: American Foreign Policy.

Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University
Mondays 7-10pm, Robertson Hall 010

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What now? Al-Qaeda's stunning terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, have forced us to rethink American foreign policy totally. But the rest of the world has not gone away. Pre-September 11 issues—like the rise of China and the crumbling of Russia, humanitarian crises, Korea, and so on—are still major concerns in a post-September 11 world, alongside the continuing war in Iraq and the rising tide of anti-American sentiments. So this seminar is not an exhaustive survey of America's role in the world; nor is it a course on the immediate American agenda (Al-Qaeda, Afghanistan, and Iraq). Instead, with the near- and long-term in mind, this class tackles some of the major dilemmas of American foreign policy in the immediate aftermath of September 11 and the recent aftermath of the Cold War. We will try to reach for a new American grand strategy that promotes American security and international progress, trying to see how America should now reevaluate its policies toward a number of key issues. We will look at a series of real-world cases to examine both how policy was made, and how it *ought* to be made.

Administrative details

The course revolves around class discussion of the assigned readings, as well as drawing on the expertise and interests that students will bring from their experiences outside Princeton. The first two weeks will be run as a normal seminar. For the other weeks, when we look at a particular policy problem, one or two students (depending on class size) will give a 15-20 minute oral presentation that will roughly simulate a policy briefing: laying out the options, the arguments for and against these options, and making an action recommendation. In those weeks where two students are briefing, each student will make the case for one particular policy, while the other student respectfully makes the case for an opposing policy. Each student will make two presentations during the semester.

There will also be a 12-15 page paper due at the end of the semester (a hard copy in my mailbox in Bendheim by noon on May 2), on an issue in post-1989 American foreign policy of the student's choice. Examples of possible topics: global warming, arming Japan, nuclear terrorism, America's role in resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict, etc. Paper topics must be approved by me, and students should have picked a topic by no later than March 21.

Final grades will be based on the two presentations (30% each), the paper (25%), and participation in class discussions (15%).

Since class size is limited, priority in enrollment will be given to Wilson School graduate students, and then to Wilson School seniors. Undergraduates can only enrol with the professor's approval.

Readings

The books are available at the U-Store. There's also a required sourcebook for your personal use, also available there. The readings are on reserve at the Wilson School library. In the week-by-week listings that follow, ordered books are marked with two bullets (••) and sourcebook readings with one bullet (•).

Required books, at the U-Store

- Graham Allison, *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe* (New York: Holt, 2004).
- James Goldgeier, *Not Whether But When: The U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1999).
- Philip B. Heymann, *Terrorism and America: A Commonsense Strategy for a Democratic Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001).
- Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (New York: NYU Press, 1996).
- Jessica Stern, *The Ultimate Terrorists* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).
- Patrick E. Tyler, *A Great Wall: Six Presidents and China* (New York: PublicAffairs, 1999).
- Philip Zelikow and Condoleezza Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996).

For general refreshers on American foreign policy, try Jerald A. Combs, *The History of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Knopf, 1986), two vols.; Stephen Ambrose, *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938* (New York: Penguin, 1993); Walter LaFeber, *The American Age: U.S. Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad Since 1750* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994); or the four-volume *Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, various years). The Cambridge series includes useful bibliographic essays.

Week 1 (January 31): American foreign policy-making

- Michael Walzer, "Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, vol. 2, no. 1 (winter 1973), pp. 160-80. Can politicians be moral?
- James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1987; orig. 1788), nos. 3-8 (pp. 94-118), nos. 23-24 (pp. 184-92), nos. 74-75 (pp. 422-28).
- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Vintage, 1945), vol. I, Henry Reeve, trans., pp. 235-45. From a great admirer of American domestic politics, skepticism about the competence of democratic foreign policy.
- George F. Kennan, "Diplomacy in the Modern World," in *American Diplomacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 91-103.

- Henry A. Kissinger, *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh, and the Problems of Peace 1812-22* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1973), pp. 1-6, 29-36. A classic brief for elite diplomacy that secures peace through a balance of power.
- Walter A. McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World Since 1776* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), pp. 1-12, 39-56, 122-46, 172-222.

Week 2 (February 7): How Washington works

- I.M. Destler, Leslie H. Gelb, and Anthony Lake, *Our Own Worst Enemy: The Unmaking of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1985), pp. 11-87. Or, how Washington doesn't work.
- Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 63, no. 3 (September 1969), pp. 689-718. Does where you stand depend on where you sit?
- Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas, *The Wise Men: Six Friends and the World They Made* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986), pp. 171-73, 731-33. Intelligent nostalgia for the old Establishment.
- Bradley H. Patterson Jr., *The White House Staff: Inside the West Wing and Beyond* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 2000), pp. 49-75. How the NSC and the president really work.
- Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, "The Gap: Soldiers, Civilians and their Mutual Misunderstanding," *The National Interest*, fall 2000, pp. 29-37. Do we have a problem with civil-military relations?
- David A. Stockman, *The Triumph of Politics: How the Reagan Revolution Failed* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986), pp. 100-09, 269-99. A dishy insider's version of how defense budgeting gets done.
- Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 269-313. The maestro at work—how FDR got an isolationist America to go to war with Japan.

Week 3 (February 14): September 11 and catastrophic terrorism

- Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York: Basic, 1992), pp. 197-206. Why terrorism is different from normal warfare, from the world's most celebrated theorist of wartime justice.
- Jessica Stern, *The Ultimate Terrorists* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 1-10, 48-106; recommended, pp. 128-160. An overview of the threat of catastrophic terrorism.
- Walter Laqueur, "Left, Right, and Beyond: The Changing Face of Terror," in James F. Hoge Jr. and Gideon Rose, eds., *How Did This Happen?: Terrorism and the New War* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2001), pp. 71-82.
- Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 97, no. 3 (August 2003), pp. 343-61.
- Bernard Lewis, "License to Kill: Usama bin Laden's Declaration of Jihad," *Foreign Affairs*, November-December 1998, pp. 14-19.
- Bernard Lewis, "The Revolt of Islam," *The New Yorker*, November 19, 2001, pp. 51-63.
- Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), Anthony F. Roberts, trans., pp. 205-36.

- Jeffrey Goldberg, "Behind Mubarak: Letter from Cairo," *The New Yorker*, October 8, 2001, pp. 48-55. Our wobbly friends in the Middle East.
- Fareed Zakaria, "Why Do They Hate Us?" *Newsweek*, October 15, 2001, pp. 22-40.
- Allison, *Nuclear Terrorism*, pp. 1-42.

Week 4 (February 21): Europe I: The end of the Cold War

- Zelikow and Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed*, pp. ix-xii, 1-370. An insider's view of the German unification, from the new secretary of state.
- G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 215-56. Recommended extra reading: pp. 3-20. An unsentimental case for using international institutions to enhance American hegemony.
- Patrick E. Tyler, "U.S. Strategy Calls for Insuring No Rivals Develop," *The New York Times*, March 8, 1992, p. A1. A Bush (Sr.) doctrine.
- Thomas L. Friedman, "U.S. Vision of Foreign Policy Reversed," *The New York Times*, September 22, 1993, p. A13. A Clinton doctrine.

Week 5 (February 28): Europe II: NATO expansion

- Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 17-49, 147-80. The standard political science wisdom on alliance behaviour.
- Goldgeier, *Not Whether But When*, pp. 1-174.
- Michael Mandelbaum, *The Dawn of Peace in Europe* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1996), pp. 11-44 (just skim), pp. 45-65 (read properly).
- Zbigniew Brzezinski, "NATO: The Dilemmas of Expansion," *The National Interest*, no. 53 (fall 1998), pp. 13-17. The case for continuing expansion, by a former national security advisor.
- "NATO: The More the Merrier," *The Weekly Standard*, July 21, 1997, pp. 9-10.
- Madeleine K. Albright, "Stop Worrying About Russia," *The New York Times*, April 29, 1998, pp. A25.
- Celeste A. Wallander, "Why Russia Belongs in NATO," *The Christian Science Monitor*, December 31, 1998, p. 19. A bold argument, by a distinguished Russia hand.
- Timothy Garton Ash, "Russia's Eventual Place in NATO," *The New York Times*, July 22, 2001, Week in Review, p. 13.
- Graham Allison and Andrei Kokoshin, "The New Containment: An Alliance Against Nuclear Terrorism," *The National Interest*, no. 69, fall 2002, pp. 35-43. A new grand alliance: American and Russia vs. terrorism?

Week 6 (March 7): Asia: China and Taiwan

- Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 58-83. A classic statement of the difference between the deterrence model and the spiral model. Which best describes Sino-American relations today?
- Tyler, *A Great Wall*, pp. 5-17, 21-43, 343-79, 383-430. Did Clinton bungle the China issue? Did Bush Sr.?
- Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro, *The Coming Conflict with China* (New York: Knopf, 1997), pp. 3-50, 149-65, 203-21. A hawkish case for resisting China.

- Andrew J. Nathan and Robert S. Ross, *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress: China's Search for Security* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), pp. 56-81, 203-37. A calmer view of Chinese intentions, with policy implications to match.
- Aaron L. Friedberg, "The Struggle for Mastery in Asia," *Commentary*, November 2000, pp. 17-26.
- Thomas J. Christensen, "Posing Challenges without Catching Up: China's Rise and Challenges for U.S. Security Policy," *International Security*, vol. 25, no. 4 (spring 2001), pp. 5-40.

Note: No class on March 14, due to spring break.

Week 7 (March 21): Humanitarian intervention I: Somalia and Rwanda

- Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), pp. 51-55, 58-63, 101-08. The moral case for humanitarianism.
- Stanley Hoffmann, "Sovereignty and the Ethics of Intervention," in his *The Ethics and Politics of Humanitarian Intervention* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996), pp. 12-37.
- Marc Trachtenberg, "Intervention in Historical Perspective," in Laura W. Reed and Carl Kaysen, eds., *Emerging Norms of Justified Intervention* (Cambridge, Mass.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1993), pp. 15-36.
- Richard K. Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 73, no. 6 (November-December 1994), pp. 20-33.

Somalia

- John Drysdale, "Foreign Military Intervention in Somalia," in Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst, eds., *Learning from Somalia: The Lessons of Armed Humanitarian Intervention* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1997), pp. 118-134.
- Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst, "Somalia and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 75, no. 2 (March-April 1996), pp. 70-85.
- James L. Woods, "U.S. Government Decisionmaking Processes During Humanitarian Operations in Somalia," in *ibid.*, pp. 151-72.
- George Stephanopoulos, *All Too Human: A Political Education* (New York: Little, Brown, 1999), pp. 213-16.

Rwanda

- Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen," *The Atlantic Monthly*, September 2001, pp. 84-108. An investigative look at the Clinton administration's abandonment of the Rwandans.
- Alison Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999), pp. 1-27, 595-691. From the West's leading Rwanda expert, the West's non-response to the Rwandan genocide.

Note: This class will probably have to be rescheduled, due to a prior WWS administrative commitment.

Week 8 (March 28): Humanitarian intervention II: Bosnia

- Stanley Hoffmann, "Humanitarian Intervention in the Former Yugoslavia," in *Ethics and Politics of Humanitarian Intervention*, pp. 38-60.
- Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (New York: NYU Press, 1996), pp. xix-xxiv, 156-271. (It might be helpful to skim pp. 1-155, but it's not required.) A scholarly look at the origins of Bosnia's war.
- Bob Woodward, *The Choice* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), pp. 253-70. The investigative reporter's inside dope on how the Clinton administration changed its mind about Bosnia.
- Richard Holbrooke, *To End a War* (New York: Random House, 1998), pp. 63-75, 91-93, 96-99, 101-08, 143-52, 156-67, 173-74, 194-99. A self-promoting but entertaining memoir of Dayton diplomacy.

Note: This is Easter Monday. Although it's not a Princeton holiday, any students who have religious obligations will of course be allowed to miss class without penalty.

Week 9 (April 4): Nuclear strategy I: Proliferation

- David Holloway, *Stalin and the Bomb* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 1-7, 161-71, 224-52, 253-72, 364-71. The first nuclear rogue state.
- Richard Pipes, "Why the Soviets Think They Could Fight and Win a Nuclear War," *Commentary*, July 1977, pp. 21-34.
- Tyler, *A Great Wall*, pp. 37-39, 71-73. The second nuclear rogue state, and reactive American and Soviet panic.
- Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History* (New York: Basic, 1997), pp. 249-368, 369-76, 393-99, 406-8. The 1994 nuclear crisis.
- George Perkovitch, *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 1-25, 404-43, 444-68. A preview of a nuclear Third World?
- John J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War," *International Security*, vol. 15, no. 1 (summer 1990); in Michael E. Brown et al., eds., *Theories of War and Peace* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998), pp. 3-54. Skim quickly, emphasizing the argument about nuclear weapons.
- "Nuclear Weapons Worldwide," *The Washington Post*, June 2, 2000, p. A26.
- Michael Mandelbaum, "Lessons of the Next World War," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 74, no. 2 (March-April 1995), pp. 22-37. Should America go to war with potential proliferators?
- Allison, *Nuclear Terrorism*, pp. 123-175.

Recommended reading for the student advocating a diplomatic response to North Korea: Leon V. Sigal, *Disarming Strangers: Nuclear Diplomacy with North Korea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 3-204, 229-54.

Week 10 (April 11): Nuclear strategy II: Missile defense

- Jonathan Schell, *The Gift of Time: The Case For Abolishing Nuclear Weapons Now* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1998), pp. 5-36, 211-23. Should we seize the end of the Cold War as the time to rid mankind of the threat of nuclear annihilation?

- Frances FitzGerald, *Way Out There in the Blue: Reagan, Star Wars and the End of the Cold War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), pp. 479-99. The roots of missile defense.
- "A Shield in Space: Missile Defences," *The Economist*, June 3, 2000, pp. 21-23.
- James Kitfield, "The Ultimate Bomb Shelter," *National Journal*, July 8, 2000, pp. 2212-221.
- R. James Woolsey, "The Way to Missile Defense: Dealing with Russia and Ourselves," *National Review*, June 19, 2000, pp. 36-41.
- Stephen J. Hadley, "A Call to Deploy," *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 3 (summer 2000), pp. 95-108.
- Theodore A. Postol and George N. Lewis, "We Can't Tell the Missiles From the Mylar," *The New York Times*, July 7, 2000, p. A17.
- Igor Ivanov, "The Missile-Defense Mistake: Undermining Strategic Stability and the ABM Treaty," *Foreign Affairs*, September-October 2000, p. 15-20. An official Russian perspective on America's debate about missile defense.

Week 11 (April 18): Exporting democracy, fighting AIDS

- Immanuel Kant, "To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch," in his *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Hackett, 1983), Ted Humphrey, trans., pp. 107-43.
- Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), pp. 31-108. The recent triumphs of democratization.
- Thomas Carothers, *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999), pp. 3-12, 85-113, 123-280, 331-52. What can America do to help democratization?
- Noah Feldman, *After Jihad: America and the Struggle for Islamic Democracy* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2003), pp. 3-16, 182-86, 210-21. A brief for building Islamic democracy.
- Amartya Sen, *Development As Freedom* (New York: Random House, 1999), pp. 146-59. Why democracy is crucial for economic growth.
- World Bank, *Confronting AIDS: Public Priorities in a Global Epidemic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), chapter 1. Available on-line at: <http://www.worldbank.org/aids-econ/confront/confrontfull/>
- National Intelligence Council, "National Intelligence Estimate: The Global Infectious Disease Threat and Its Implications for the United States, January 2000," in *Environmental Change & Security Project Report*, issue 6 (summer 2000), pp. 33-65. The terrifying scale and devastating scope of the AIDS pandemic.
- World Health Organization and Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), *AIDS Epidemic Update*, UNAIDS/03.39E, December 2003. A global overview.
- Stefan Elbe, "HIV/AIDS and the Changing Landscape of War in Africa," *International Security*, vol. 27, no. 2 (fall 2002), pp. 159-77. An example of the political implications of the pandemic: collapsing armies, and AIDS as a weapon of war.

Week 12 (April 25): Toward a grand strategy

- Philip B. Heymann, *Terrorism and America: A Commonsense Strategy for a Democratic Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001), pp. ix-xxxii, 1-158.
- Ronald Steel, *Temptations of a Superpower: America's Foreign Policy After the Cold War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 102-39. A thoughtful call for restraint.
- Niall Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power* (New York: Basic, 2003), pp. ix-xxvi, 303-17.
- Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, no. 113, June-July 2002, pp. 3-28. A neocon analysis of the Atlantic divide.
- Abram Chayes and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "The ICC and the Future of the Global Legal System," in Sarah B. Sewall and Carl Kaysen, eds., *The United States and the International Criminal Court* (Cambridge, Mass.: American Academy of Arts & Sciences, 2000), pp. 237-47. The case for George W. Bush's least favorite international institution.
- Barry Posen and Andrew Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security*, vol. 21, no. 3 (winter 1996-97), pp. 5-53.
- Barry Posen, "The Struggle against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics," *International Security*, vol. 26, no. 3 (winter 2001-2), pp. 39-55.
- Stephen M. Walt, "Beyond bin Laden: Reshaping U.S. Foreign Policy," *International Security*, vol. 21, no. 3 (winter 1996-97), pp. 56-78.
- Allison, *Nuclear Terrorism*, pp. 176-209.
- Michael Ignatieff, "Is the Human Rights Era Ending?" *The New York Times*, February 5, 2002, p. A29.