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
* **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:


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:


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?

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 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 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 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 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.


March 26, 2006. Gergen agues 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 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.


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.

of American policies before and during the two world wars.


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

A. Cold War origins and conduct:


B. Korea:


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


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


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.


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.


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

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


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


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 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.


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 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.


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?

"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 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 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.

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.

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.


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.


Textbooks and surveys:

Eugene R. Wittkopf, Charles W. Kegley, Jr. and Jmes M. Scott, American Foreign Policy, 6th ed. (Florence, KY: Thompson Wadsworth, 2002)
George F. Kennan, American Diplomacy, 1900-1950 (NY: New American Library, 1951)

Historical document & essay collections:

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.


Security Studies. Another journal of military and foreign policy.

The National Interest. The leading conservative foreign policy journal.


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.


BBC World Service. Good world news coverage, aired in Boston at 9:00-10:00 a.m. and 11:00 p.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.

Readers on 1990s policy questions:


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

Theories of International Politics & of American Foreign Policy:


K.J. Holsti, The Dividing Discipline: Hegemony and Diversity in International Theory (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1985)

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


Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and Eugene R. Wittkopf, eds., The Domestic Sources of
American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence (NY: St. Martin's, 1988)

Peace Movements:


Foreign lobbies and ethnic politics as influences on American foreign policy:


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


Jeffrey Birnbaum, "The Influence Merchants," Fortune, December 7, 1998, pp. 134-152, especially the chart on p. 137. Washington insiders rank the Israel lobby the second most powerful lobby in Washington, behind only the AARP and ahead of the NRA, the AMA, the AFL-CIO, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the VFW, and others.


Paul Findley, They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby (Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill and Co., 1985)

Michael Lind, "The Israel Lobby," Prospect, April 1, 2002; and Adam Garfinkle, "Israel Lobby Part II," Prospect, September 2002.


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

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.

Propaganda, and the press as tools of American foreign policy and influences on American foreign policy:

Jarol B. Mannheim, Strategic Public Diplomacy and American Foreign Policy (NY: Oxford University Press, 1994)


David Barstow, "Behind TV Analysts, Pentagon's Hidden Hand," New York Times, April 20, 2008. The many former generals who commented on TV about the Iraq war after 2002 were secretly given large Pentagon access on condition they not reveal it, and often made money as contractors off their Pentagon access. Conflict of interest anyone?

American Grand Strategy:


World mattered in the Cold War and still matters today. An anti-Kennan view.


The United States and Human Rights:


The United States and conflict prevention/conflict termination:


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:


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:**


James A. Nathan and James K. Oliver, *United States Foreign Policy and World Order* (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1989)


Raymond L. Garthoff, *Detente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from...*
Raymond L. Garthoff, The Great Transition: American-Soviet Relations and the
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.

Allen Whiting, China Crosses the Yalu: The Decision to Enter the Korean War (Stanford: Stanford U. Press, 1960)


David Rees, Korea: The Limited War (Baltimore: Penguin, 1970)


U.S. National Security Policy:


McGeorge Bundy, Danger and Survival: Choices About the Bomb in the First Fifty Years (New York: Random House, 1988)

John F. Reichart and Steven R. Sturm, eds., American Defense Policy, 5th ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1982)


Lynn Eden and Steven E. Miller, eds., Nuclear Arguments: Understanding the Strategic Nuclear Arms and Arms Control Debates (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989)


**U.S. Foreign Economic Policy:**


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

Berlin, 1948 & 1958-1962:


Offshore Islands:


Cuban Missile Crisis:

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)
Brian VanDeMark, Into the Quagmire: Lyndon Johnson and the Escalation of the Vietnam War (NY: Oxford University Press, 1995)
Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, The Indochina Story (NY: Bantam, 1970)
Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Bitter Heritage: Vietnam and American
Marvin E. Gettleman, Jane Franklin, Marilyn Young and H. Bruce Franklin, eds. Vietnam and America, A Documentary History (NY: Grove Press, 1985)
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 Mexican War:


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

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)
Stuart Creighton Miller, "Benevolent Assimilation": The American Conquest of
the Philippines, 1899-1903 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982)
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:

General:


The interventions of 1900-1934:


Overviews of Cold War interventions:

Peter J. Schraeder, ed., Intervention Into the 1990s, 2nd ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1992)
Michael J. Sullivan, American Adventurism Abroad: 30 Invasions, Interventions, and Regime Changes since World War II (Greenwood: 2004)

Overviews of covert operations:


Iran 1953:


Iran-US post-1953:


Guatemala 1954:


Indonesia 1957:


Bay of Pigs 1961:


Dominican Republic 1965:


Chile 1973:


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.")

African interventions since the 1970s:


Angola 1975:


Central Americas in the 1980s:


Robert Pastor, *Condemned to Repetition: The United States and Nicaragua*

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:


The end of the Cold War and the future, 1990s perspectives:


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)


The terror war:


Mary Habeck, Knowing the Enemy: Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006)


Anonymous, Imperial Hubris: Why the West is Losing the War on Terror (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 2004)


James F. Hoge and Gideon Rose, ed., How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War (NY: Public Affairs Press, 2001)

Kurt M. Campbell and Michèle A. Flournoy, principal authors, To Prevail: An American Strategy for the Campaign Against Terrorism (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2001)


Rohan Gunaratna, Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror (NY: Columbia

Environmental issues:

The US-Iraq War, 2003-


George W. Bush's Foreign Policy, 2001-

Clyde Prestowitz, *Rogue Nation: American Unilateralism and the Failure of Good*


On the ideas and activities of the neoconservatives, who have large influence in the George W. Bush administration, an informative blog is: LobeLog.com.
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.
SCHEDULE FOR 17.40

Sept.
T 9: First day of class.
M-F 13-17: First section meetings.

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.
Putin is replicating his success in Syria in a new theater of conflict, and part of his plan is to hurt American interests once again. Argument | Sajjan M. Gohel, Allison Bailey.

The foreign policy of the United States is officially conducted by the President and the Secretary of State. Less formal foreign policy is conducted through exchanges of citizens and other government officials, through commerce and trade, or through third party states or organizations. United States Foreign Policy is marked by the country's large economy, well-funded military, and notable political influence. The End of World Order and American Foreign Policy. The United States should respond to the COVID-19 reordering moment and stop deterioration in the balance of power with China, bolster relations with India and Europe, and reform the way it deals with allies and partners. Council Special Report by Robert D. Blackwill and Thomas Wright Dec 31, 1969. The definitive account of how regime change in the Middle East has proven so tempting to American policymakers for decades and why it always seems to go wrong.