

10 OCTOBER 2005

GOVERNMENT 1792:
INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

STEPHEN PETER ROSEN AND WILLIAM KRISTOL

Fall 2005

Location: Harvard Hall 202

Meeting Time: Tu., 2-4

Exam Group: 16,17

Catalog Number: 3922

President Bush ran for office promising "a distinctly American internationalism." Does American history suggest there is a distinctly American foreign policy? If so, what are its sources? What have been the tensions between the desires to promote liberty abroad and to preserve it at home? These and other issues will be explored through a study of key moments and debates in the history of American foreign policy, from the 1790s through the present. [This course is not expected to be offered in 2006-2007]

COURSE REQUIREMENTS/POLICIES:

Lectures: This course will meet for lectures at 2 pm on Tuesdays. Lectures will normally last two hours. The last lecture will be held on Tuesday, December 13. There is a fair amount of reading for the course and the lectures will make a lot more sense if you keep up with the reading for each week. The course presumes that you have a general knowledge of American history, but there are no formal course prerequisites.

Sections: There will also be required weekly section meetings. Section meetings will normally be scheduled on Wednesday or Thursday. Section participation will count for *20% of the final course grade*.

Sectioning for the course will be done online beginning Tuesday, September 20th. A link and specific instructions will be available on the course website. Students need to complete the online sectioning by midnight, Sunday, September 25th. Section assignments will be available on Monday, September 26th. The first section meetings will take place on Wednesday, September 28th.

Papers. Two 7-10 page papers are required. The first will be due at 2:00 (before lecture) on October 25th, the second will be due on December 6th. Topics will be posted on the course website one or two weeks in advance. Due dates (and times) will be taken seriously, and late papers will incur a substantial grade penalty; they will be marked down one half letter grade (for example from an "A-" down to a "B"). *Each paper is worth 20% of the final course grade.*

Examination: There will be a final examination in this course. *The final will count for 40% of the final course grade.*

Pass/Fail: Students will not be allowed to take this course under a "Pass/Fail" option.

Films: We will be showing several films throughout the course. Background notes and discussion questions will accompany the film viewings. Attendance is mandatory. Current dates are provisional, please check the course website for updates.

Course Materials: Required readings will consist of books available for purchase at the COOP, a coursepack available for purchase at Gnomon Copies, websites, and journal articles found online through the Harvard Libraries Website (e-resources). All required readings will also be available on Reserve at Lamont Library.

Office Hours and Contact Information:

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Course website: www.courses.harvard.edu/~gov1792

LECTURES AND ASSIGNED READING:**SEPTEMBER 20: INTRODUCTION TO THE ORIGINS AND CHARACTER OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY**

1. The Declaration of Independence

SEPTEMBER 27: DEMOCRACY AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

2. Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, The Federalist Papers, 1-6, 23-27.
3. George Washington, "The Farewell Address" (Hamilton Draft).
4. Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Volume II, Book 3, Chapters 18-26.
5. Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America: Chapters 1 ("The Concept of a Liberal Society") and Chapter 11 ("America and the World").
6. Woodrow Wilson, "The Fourteen Points."
7. George W. Bush, "Second Inaugural Address."

OCTOBER 4: THE FOREIGN POLICY ESTABLISHMENT

8. Reinhold Niebuhr, "The Democratic Elite and American Foreign Policy," in Marquis Childs and James Reston, Eds., Walter Lippmann and His Times, 1959.
9. Irving Kristol, "American Intellectuals and Foreign Policy," Foreign Affairs (July 1967) Vol. 45 Issue 4, p594.
10. Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas, The Wise Men: Introduction, Chapters 5 ("A Pretty Good Club"), 6 ("On Active Service"), 9 ("Words of One Syllable"), 14 ("Simple Honest Men") and 24 ("Legacy"). *Recommended: Chapters 1-4.*
11. Robert Kaplan, The Arabists (1995): Chapters 5 ("Mr. Foreign Service"), 6 ("Old Hands"), and 14 ("Hostages of Idealism").

OCTOBER 11: THE PRESIDENCY AND FOREIGN POLICY

12. Hamilton and Jay, Federalist Papers 67-77.
13. Pacificus, No. 1.
14. Helvidius, No. 1.
15. Gary Schmitt, "Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality: Executive Energy and the Paradox of Executive Power," Political Science Reviewer 2000, Vol. 29, p121.
16. Richard Neustadt, Presidential Power and Modern Presidents, New York: Free Press, 1990: Preface to the 1990 Edition, Chapters 1 ("Leader or Clerk"), 2 ("Three Cases of Command"), 3 ("The Power to Persuade"), 10 ("Reappraising Power"), 12 ("A Matter of Detail"), and 13 ("Two Cases of Self-Help").
17. Terry Eastland, Energy in the Executive, Chapter 8, "Bush and Congress v. Saddam Hussein."

OCTOBER 18: AMERICA GOES TO WAR

18. Ernest May, World War and American Isolation, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959: Chapters 2 ("America's Benevolent Neutrality"), 7 ("Strict Accountability"), and 14 ("The Last Crisis").
19. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Quarantine Speech," October 5, 1937.
20. Neustadt, Chapter 6, pp103-127.
21. John P. Burke and Fred Greenstein, How Presidents Test Reality: Decisions of Vietnam 1954 and 1965 (1991), Part III: Intervention in 1965 and Chapter 12.
22. Robert Dallek, "Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam: The Making of a Tragedy," Diplomatic History, 1996 vol: 20 pg: 147.
23. George H. W. Bush address to Joint Session of Congress, Sept. 11, 1990.

OCTOBER 25: THE AMERICAN WAY OF WAR**[First Paper Due]**

24. Eliot Cohen, Supreme Command, Chapter 2 ("Lincoln Sends a Letter") and Appendix ("The Theory of Civilian Control").

25. *Recommended: Eric Larrabee, Commander in Chief, Prologue and Chapter 1 ("F.D.R.")*.
26. Stephen P. Rosen, "Vietnam and the American theory of limited war," International Security, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Autumn 1982).
27. Allan Stam and Dan Reiter, Democracies at War (Princeton 2002): Chapters 1 ("Democracy's Fourth Virtue"), 6 ("Democracy, Consent, and the Path to War"), and 8 ("Why Democracies Win Wars").
28. Colin Powell, My American Journey: pp301-303 (on Powell / Weinberger Doctrine), pp 478-480 (on decision to use force against Iraq), and Chapter 19 ("Every War Must End") pp 507-530.

NOVEMBER 1: IDEOLOGY AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: PART I, THE COLD WAR

29. George F. Kennan, American Diplomacy. (85pp): Chapter 1 ("The War with Spain"), Chapter 5 ("World War II"), Chapter 6 ("Diplomacy in the Modern World"), Part II, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct", and Part III, Chapter 2 ("American Diplomacy and the Military").
30. John Lewis Gaddis, Strategies of Containment – Updated Edition (2005)
31. D. D. Eisenhower, "Farewell Address," January 17, 1961.

Film: High Noon

NOVEMBER 8: IDEOLOGY AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: PART II

32. Henry M. Jackson, "Seven Assumptions that Beset Us," New York Times Magazine, 4 August 1963
33. Henry M. Jackson, "The Balance of Power and the Future of Freedom," U.S. Congress, Senate, 96th Congress., 2d Sess., 6 May 1980, Congressional Record 112:21577.
34. Robert Kagan, "History Repeating Itself: Liberalism and Foreign Policy" New Criterion April 4 1999
35. Robert Kagan and William Kristol, Present Dangers (2000): Introduction
36. Steve Sestanovich, "American Maximalism," The National Interest, Spring, 2005
37. John Lewis Gaddis, Surprise, Security, and the American Experience (Harvard 2004)

NOVEMBER 15: MORALITY AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

38. George F. Kennan, "Morality and Foreign Policy," Foreign Affairs, Winter 1985/86.
39. Michael Neufield and Michael Berenbaum, eds., The Bombing of Auschwitz: Should the Allies have attempted it (2000): Introduction to the Controversy, Chapters 1 ("The Allies and the Holocaust"), 8 ("The Bombing of Auschwitz Revisited: A Critical Analysis") and 15 ("Contemporary American Jewish Historiography").
40. Samantha Powers, "Bystanders to Genocide," Atlantic Monthly, September 2001, pp84-108.
41. Gary Bass, Stay the Hand of Vengeance (2000), Chapter 5: Nuremberg (pp147-206).
42. Leo P. Ribuffo, "Religion in the History of U.S. Foreign Policy," The National Interest; Summer 1998, Issue 52, p36.

NOVEMBER 22: NATION-BUILDING AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

43. Brian Linn, The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War, 1899-1902, Chapter 1, "The Philippine War." *Recommended: Brian Linn, The Philippine War, 1899-1902 (2002), Chapter 1, 9-10, 12, and 14-15.*
44. United States Marine Corps, Small Wars Manual of 1940, Chapter 1.
45. Francis Fukuyama, The Imperative of State Building, Journal of Democracy, Volume 15, No. 2, April 2004, pp 17-31. *Recommended: Francis Fukuyama, State Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century (Cornell 2004).*

NOVEMBER 29: THE U.S. AND EUROPE

46. Hermann Melville, Benito Cereno.
47. Robert Kagan, Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order (2004).
48. Robert Cooper, "Imperial Liberalism," The National Interest, Spring 2005.

DECEMBER 6: UNILATERALISM AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

[First Paper Due]

49. Henry Cabot Lodge, Speech opposing the League of Nations, Aug. 12, 1919 (2pp).
50. Woodrow Wilson, Speech in Support of the League, Sept 25, 1919 (6pp).
51. Reinhold Niebuhr, World Crisis and American Responsibility, (1958), Chapters 5 (“The United Nations and the Free World”) and 6 (“The Illusion of World Government”).
52. UN Secretary General’s Report, “In Larger Freedom” (2005), Executive Summary.
53. American Interests and UN Reform: report of the Task Force on the United Nations, United States Institute of Peace (June 2005): , Forward (by Newt Gingrich and George Mitchell), and Chapter 1 (“American Interests and the United Nations”)
54. Anne-Marie Slaughter, “Memorandum to the President,” Toward an International Criminal Court, pp. 1-18.
55. Jeremy Rabkin, “Worlds Apart on International Justice,” 15 Leiden Journal of International Law 835-857 (2002).
Recommended: Jeremy Rabkin, The Case for Sovereignty, AEI Press (2004), Chapters 1-3, 6.
56. John Bolton’s comments on the ICC in Remarks at the AEI, November 3, 2003.

Film: Black Hawk Down

13. DECEMBER 13: REPUBLIC OR (AND) EMPIRE?

57. A. T. Mahan, The Influence of Sea Power upon History, Chapter 1, pp 49-90.
58. William Jennings Bryan, “The Paralyzing Influence of Imperialism,” 1900 Speech.
59. Stephen Rosen, “An Empire if You Can Keep It,” National Interest (Spring 2003) (
60. Kim Kagan, “Hegemony, Not Empire; How the Pax Americana Differs from the Pax Romana,” The Weekly Standard, May 6, 2002.
61. Robert Kagan and Niall Ferguson, “The United States Is, and Should Be, and Empire,” A New Atlantic Initiative Debate, July 17, 2003. AEI Transcript.
62. Stanley Hoffman, “Why Don’t They Like Us,” The American Prospect, Nov 19, 2001.
63. Charles S. Maier, “Imperial Limits,” Harvard Magazine, November/December 2002.
64. Charles Krauthammer, “The Unipolar Era,” The National Interest, Winter 2003.
65. James Kurth, “Who Will Do the Dirty Work,” The National Interest, Spring 2003.

Books available for purchase at the Coop:

- Alexander Hamilton, The Federalist Papers.
 Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas, The Wise Men.
 Richard Neustadt, Presidential Power and Modern Presidents.
 John Burke and Fred Greenstein, How Presidents Test Reality (1991).
 George F. Kennan, American Diplomacy.
 John Lewis Gaddis, Strategies of Containment – Updated Edition (2005).
 John Lewis Gaddis, Surprise, Security, and the American Experience.
 Herman Melville, Benito Cereno in Billy Budd and Other Stories.
 Robert Kagan, Of Paradise and Power.