

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Syllabus

Gulliver's troubles: The United States as Hegemon and Hegemonic Mediator since 1945 - 58370

Last update 06-08-2016

HU Credits: 4

Degree/Cycle: 1st degree (Bachelor)

Responsible Department: international relations

Academic year: 0

Semester: Yearly

Teaching Languages: Hebrew

Campus: Mt. Scopus

Course/Module Coordinator: Noam Kochavi

Coordinator Email: nkochavi@mail.huji.ac.il

Coordinator Office Hours: Monday, 11.00-12.00

Teaching Staff:

Dr. Noam Kochavi

Course/Module description:

Since 1945, the United States has played a hegemonic role in the international system. This course introduces the student to some of the basic dilemmas that bewildered Americans in performing that role, and to relevant decision-making processes. Special attention is given to the American negotiating experience, both at large and in the Middle Eastern context.

Course/Module aims:

Gaining an understanding of basic American dilemmas and decisionmaking processes in the Foreign Policy arena

Learning outcomes - On successful completion of this module, students should be able to:

To identify key factors that affect the American performance in the Foreign Policy field

Attendance requirements(%):

None

Teaching arrangement and method of instruction: Lecture

Course/Module Content:

- A. Introduction and Fundamental Factors
 - 1. American Foreign Policy: Current research trends
 - 2. The American Foreign Policy ideology
 - 3. Public Opinion and Congress
- B. Cold War Strategies
 - 4. Containment Strategies under Truman – and McCarthyism
 - 5. Nuclear Grand Strategies: Massive Retaliation, Flexible Response and Moral Squabbles in the 1980s
 - 6. Strategies for the Third World: "Nation Building," Vietnam and the Vietnam Syndrome
 - 7. Nixon, Kissinger and their contenders, Left and Right
 - 8. The Cold War, Human Rights and Dissident Movements

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- C. The American Experience in Negotiation and Mediation: General
9. The Inter-Cultural Dimension
10. Coercive Diplomacy
11. Integration Diplomacy
12. The United States and China: Tacit Understanding, Breakthroughs and Maintaining Momentum
13. The United States and the Soviet Union: Why did the Cold War End?
- D. Negotiating in the Middle Eastern Context
14. Why and How did the United States and Israel construct a "Special Relationship"?
15. Kissinger, status quo diplomacy, the Yom Kippur War and the theory of maturation
16. Carter, Camp David and Israeli-Egyptian Peace
- E. Foreign Policymaking Processes
17. Systemic and Economic Explanations
18. The Department of State and the National Security Council
19. The Intelligence Process
20. Presidential Style in Foreign Affairs
21. Analogical Thinking and Groupthink
22. The Personality factor – and the Cultural Turn
- F. The Contemporary Scene
23. "The Crisis of Opportunity" under Clinton: Humanitarian Intervention and the Failure in Russia
24. Navigating the Relationship with Western Europe
25. The Challenge of Rising Powers: China and Russia
26. The Arab-Israeli Tangle after Oslo
27. Is the United States Declining?

Required Reading:

א. מבוא ויסודות

1. כיצד חוקרים את מדיניות החוץ האמריקנית כיום?

Robert J. McMahon, "Toward a Pluralist Vision: The Study of American Foreign Relations as International History and National History," in Hogan and Paterson, *Explaining the History*, 2nd ed., 35-50. (M)

2. האידאולוגיה האמריקנית במדיניות חוץ

מקור:

- Henry Luce, "The American Century," in Michael Hunt, *The World Transformed: 1945 to the Present, a Documentary Reader* (Boston, 2004), pp. 10-13. (M)

מאמר:

Michael Hunt, "Ideology," in Hogan and Paterson, *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2004). (M)

3. דעת קהל והקונגרס

מקורות

- "Wilson's Defense of the League," in Engel, Lawrence and Preston (eds.), *America in the World: a History in Documents from the War with Spain to the War on Terror* (Princeton, 2014), pp. 96-99.
- "Opposition from Henry Cabot Lodge" and "Lodge's Reservations," in Engel, Lawrence and Preston, *America in the World*, pp. 94-95, 99-100.

מאמרים

Melvin Small, "Public Opinion," in Hogan, *Explaining the History*, 1st edition, 165-176. (M)

John Tower, "Congress versus the President: The Formulation and Implementation of U.S. Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* (Winter 1987-8) (M)

ב. אסטרטגיות במלחמה הקרה

4. כיצד לבלום את ברה"מ וסין? אסטרטגיות בלימה בעידן טרומן - ומקרתזום

מקורות

- **"Long Telegram,"* in Hunt, *World Transformed*, pp. 29-30. (M)
- **"The Truman Doctrine,"* in Hunt, *World Transformed*, 33.
- *United States vs. Paramount Pictures*, in Steven Mintz and Randy W. Roberts, ed., *Hollywood's America: Twentieth-Century America Through Film* (Malden, Mass.; Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), pp. 234-238.
- *"The Red Menace in the United States,"* in Hunt, *The World Transformed*, 46-51.
- Movie: Elia Kazan and *"On the Waterfront"*
- Movie: *"Invasion of the Body Snatchers"*

מאמר

*Melvyn P. Leffler, "The Emergence of an American Grand Strategy," *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 2010) (M).

5. איזו אסטרטגייה-רבתי מתאימה לעידן הגרעיני? "תגובה מסיבית", "תגובה גמישה" והמחלוקת על ערך הדו-קוטביות הגרעינית בשנות השמונים

מקורות

- *Eisenhower's Farewell Address*
(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CWilyYW_fBfY)
- *"Spreading Nuclear Fear,"* Hunt, *The World Transformed*, 145-153.
- *The Limited Test Ban Treaty* (1963)
- Movie: *Dr. Strangelove*
- Movie: *"The Day After"*

מאמר

*John L. Gaddis, "The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System," in Gaddis, *The Long Peace: Enquiries into the History of the Cold War*

(1987).

6. אסטרטגיה לעולם השלישי: "בניית מדינות", מלחמת וייטנאם וסינדרום וייטנאם

מקורות

- Text: the Tonkin Gulf Resolution – and LBJ's doubts (Engel, Lawrence and Preston, pp. 261-262 and "Why America Fights" (Engel, Lawrence and Preston, pp.267-269).
- Kennedy's Inauguration Address
- Daniel Ellsberg's "Pentagon Papers"
- Book: The Ugly American
- Movie/Musical: Hair
- Cultural dissenters: Joan Baez and Jane Fonda
- Cultural dissenters: Bob Dylan (i.e. "Masters of War," Engel, Lawrence and Preston, 271-272)
- Martin Luther King, Malcolm X and the Vietnam War: King's speech, "The War and the Damage Done," Engel, Lawrence and Preston, 272-273; "Malcolm X on the United States and the World," Hanimaki and Westad (eds.), The Cold War, pp. 435-438.
- Movies: Platoon, Coming Home, The Deer Hunter

מאמר

*Jeremi Suri, *Liberty's Surest Guardian: American Nation-Building from the Founders to Obama* (New York, 2011), 195-209 (M).

7. ניכסון, קיסינג'ר ומבקריהם משמאל ומימין

מקורות

- "The Kitchen Debate" between Nixon and Khrushchev, 1959. (Westad and Hanimaki Cold War Book)
- "President Richard Nixon Argues for a Policy of Détente," in Hunt, *World Transformed*, pp. 279-281; "Détente with the Soviet Union," Nixon's Letter to Melvin Laird in Engel, Lawrence and Preston, pp. 291.
- "Ronald Reagan Attacks Détente," in Hanimaki and Westad, *The Cold War*, pp. 533-535.
- The Helsinki Final Act, in Jeremi Suri, *American Foreign Relations since 1898: a Documentary Reader* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 163-169
- Book: Herman Kahn, *The Next 200 Years*

מאמר

*Jeremi Suri, *Henry Kissinger and the American Century* (Boston, 2007), chap. 5.

8. המלחמה הקרה, זכויות אדם ותנועות התנגדות

מקורות:

- Carter's Notre Dame Speech, in Engel, Lawrence and Preston, pp. 302-304.
- "Kissinger and Chile – the Declassified Record," The National Security Archive (<http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB437/>).
- Movie: "Good Night and Good Luck".
- Movie: Missing

מאמר

Rosemary Foot, "The Cold War and Human Rights," *Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol.3, 445-465 (M).

ג. הניסיון האמריקני במשא ומתן ובתווך: כללי

9. המימד הבין-תרבותי

מקורות:

- "Asian Values" versus the Washington Consensus" (Malaysian Prime Minister Bin Mohamad's speech, 1994), in Engel, Lawrence and Preston, pp. 343-344.

- Movie: *!Saludos Amigos!*

- Movie: *Bananas*

- Movie: *Sayonara*

מאמר

*Raymond Cohen, *Negotiating Across Cultures: Communication Obstacles in International Diplomacy* (Washington, D.C., 1991), conclusion. (L)

10. אסטרטגיות כפייה: ענישה וסנקציות

*Lebow, *The Art of Bargaining*, chap. 8.

11. אסטרטגיות שילוב

מקורות:

Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin at Yalta, Hanhimaki and Westad, *The Cold War*, pp. 42-45.

מאמר

Lebow, *The Art of Bargaining*, chap. 7.

12. ארצות הברית וסין: הבנות סמויות, פריצת דרך והבשלת הפשרה

מקורות

- "China and 'Containment without Isolation' and 'The Opening to China' in Engel, Lawrence and Preston, pp. 284-286, 295-297;

- Interviews with John Holdrige and Marshall Green, and memoirs of Marshall Green, at the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Oral History Collection (<http://adst.org/oral-history/>).

- "We Have Some Problems with the Chinese," in William Burr, *The Kissinger Transcripts* (New York: the New Press, 1998), 371-425.

- Movie: "Dr. No"

מאמרים

*Noam Kochavi, *A Conflict Perpetuated* (Praeger, 2002), chap. 1. (M)

*Robert Schulzinger, "Détente in the Nixon-Ford Years," *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* (2010), pp. 373-394 (M)

13. ארצות הברית וברית המועצות: מדוע נסתיימה המלחמה הקרה

מקורות

- סרט: המרדף אחר אוקטובר האדום

- "Fall of Berlin Wall Caused Anxiety More than Joy at Highest Levels," *National Security Archive Electronic briefing book No. 293*; "Skepticism and Opportunity

within George H. W. Bush's White House," in Engel, Lawrence and Preston, pp. 326-328.

- "Ronald Reagan Dubs the Soviet Union 'the Focus of Evil,'" in Hunt, *The World Transformed*, 281-282.

- Reagan's "Tear Down this Wall" speech

מאמר

הנרי קיסינג'ר, דיפלומטיה (ירושלים: שלם, 2007), 740-781,

ד. הניסיון האמריקני במשא ומתן ובתווך: המזרח התיכון

14. כיצד ומתי נוצרו "היחסים המיוחדים" בין ארה"ב לישראל?

מקורות

- העימות בין הנשיא טרומן לבין שר החוץ מרשל בבית הלבן, 12 למאי 1948,

<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1948v05p2/d246>.

- שיחה בין הנשיא קנדי לשרת החוץ גולדה מאיר, 27 לדצמבר 1962 (עד עמוד 282)

https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v18/pg_276

Book: Hal Lindsey, *The Late, Great Planet Earth* (1970)

מאמרים

Quandt, William B., *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, Third Edition, 2005), Introduction, pp.1-20. (M)

*Laura Zittrain Eisenberg and Neil Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), "Introduction: Historical Patterns," 1-27.

Douglas Little, *American Orientalism: the United States and the Middle East since 1945* (Chapel Hill and London, 2002), pp. 77-103.

15. קיסינג'ר, "דיפלומטיה הקיפאון" ומלחמת יום כיפור

מקור:

The US and the October War

(<http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB98/nixon1.htm>)

מאמר:

אברהם בן-צבי, מטרומן ועד אובמה: עלייתם וראשית שקיעתם של יחסי ארצות הברית-ישראל, (תל אביב: ידיעות אחרונות, 2011), פרק 6.

16. קרט, קמפ דייוויד והשלום המצרי

מקור:

"President Carter and the Role of Intelligence in the Camp David Accords,"

<http://www.foia.cia.gov/collection/carter-camp-david-accords>

מאמר:

קנת שטיין, מדינאות אמיצה: סאדאת, קיסינג'ר, קרט והחתימה לשלום ערבי-ישראלי (תל אביב: משרד הבטחון-ההוצאה לאור, 2003), 129-149.

ה. תהליכי קבלת החלטות במדיניות החוץ האמריקנית

17. הסברים מערכתיים וכלכליים

Thomas McCormick, "Hegemony and the World System," in Thomas G. Paterson, *Major Problems in American Foreign Policy*, 4th edition, 25-36. (M)

Emily S. Rosenberg, "Economic Interest and United States Foreign Policy," in Gordon Martel (ed.), *American Foreign Relations Reconsidered*, 43-48. (M)

18. קהיליית מדיניות החוץ: מחלקת המדינה והמועצה לביטחון לאומי

*J. Garry Clifford, *Bureaucratic Politics*, in Hogan, *Explaining*, 1st edition, 41-50. (M)
I.M. Destler, "The Rise of The National Security Assistant, 1961-1981," in Kegley and Wittkopf, *Perspectives on American Foreign Policy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 260-281. (M)

Leslie H. Gelb, "Why Not the State Department?" in *Ibid.*, 282-299. (M)

19. התהליך המודיעיני וההתמודדות עם תמורות אסטרטגיות

מקורות

דוחות ועדות החקירה הקונגרסיונאליות לתפקוד המודיעין בשנות השבעים (למשל, http://history.matters.com/archive/contents/church/contents_church_reports_ir.htm)

מאמר

Robert Jervis, *Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War* (Ithaca, 2010), chap. 4. (M)

20. הנשיא וסגנון הניהול: בוש ומלחמת המפרץ הראשונה

מקורות

- Bush News Conference, 2 August 1990, in Suri, *American Foreign Relations*, 201-204 and speech before Congress, 11 September 1990, in Engel, Lawrence and Preston, 333-334.

- Oral history with Brent Scowcroft,

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/gulf/oral/scowcroft/1.html>

מאמר

Thomas Preston, *The President and his Inner Circle*, chap. 1. (M)

21. חשיבה קבוצתית ואנלוגיות: בוש הבן ועיראק

מקורות

- Text: Charles Krauthammer, "The Imperial Era," in Andrew J. Bacevich, ed., *The Imperial Tense: Prospects and Problems of American Empire* (Chicago, 2003), pp. 47-65; and Kristol and Kagan's *Neoconservative Manifesto*, in Engel, Lawrence and Preston, pp. 355-356.

- Text: *The Bush Doctrine*, in Suri, *American Foreign Relations*, 225-228; and "Democracy's Promise," in Engel, Lawrence and Preston, pp. 364-365.

- George Packer, "The Iraq War," in Suri, *American Foreign Relations*, pp. 228-233; "The View from Baghdad," in Engel, Lawrence and Preston, pp. 369-371.

- Andrew J. Bacevich, "No Blood for Oil," in Engel, Lawrence and Preston, pp. 374-376.

מאמרים

Irving L. Janis, *Victims of Groupthink: A Psychological Study of Foreign Policy Decisions and Fiascos* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972), introduction. (M)

James Fallows, "Blind into Baghdad," *The Atlantic* (January-February 2004 issue), <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2004/01/blind-into-baghdad/302860/>

22. מבנה האישיות-והתפנית התרבותית

Richard H. Immerman, "Psychology," in Hogan, *Explaining the History*
Gerald Horne, "Race to Insight: the U.S. and the World, White Supremacy, and Foreign Affairs," in Hogan and Paterson, *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2004). (M)

ו. העידן הנוכחי

23. "משבר ההזדמנות האסטרטגית" בעידן קלינטון: התערבות הומניטארית והכשלות ברוסיה

מקורות

- Rwanda: PDD 25 (<http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB53/>) and the "Problem from Hell" (Engel, Lawrence and Preston, 341-342)

Rwanda: Ambassador Bushnell's personal notebook
(<http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB500/>)

- Tony Lake on the enlargement of NATO, Engel, Lawrence and Preston, pp. 337-341.

מאמר

*"Navigating the Unknown," Introduction to *In Uncertain Times: American Foreign Policy after the Berlin Wall and 9/11*, eds. Melvyn P. Leffler and Jeffery W. Legro (Ithaca, 2011), pp. 1-11.

24. כיצד יש לנהל את היחסים עם אירופה המערבית?

מקור:

Kennedy's speech in Berlin.

מאמרים

*Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review* 2007
(<http://users.clas.ufl.edu/zselden/course%20readings/rkagan.pdf>)

Donald Puchala, "The Atlantic Community in the Age of International Terrorism," *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 3:1 (Spring 2005), 89-104. (M)

25. אתגר המעצמות העולות: סין ורוסיה

מקורות

• The National Security Archive: The U.S. Tiananmen Papers (Internet resource, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB47>)

• "Whither China: From Membership to Responsibility?," remarks of Robert B. Zoellick, Deputy Secretary of State, before the National Committee on U.S. China Relations, New York NY, September 21, 2005 (Internet resource)

• The Pivot to Asia, in Engel, Lawrence and Preston, 377-378.

מאמר

*Yuen Foong Khong, "Primacy or World Order? The United States and China's Rise—A Review Essay," *International Security* 38:3 (Winter 2013-2014): 153-175. (University Electronic Journal Access)

26. כיצד לנהל את הסכסוך: טראומת אוסלו ולאחריה

מקור

The Clinton Peace Parameters

<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Peace/clintplan.html>

מאמר

Kurtzer, Lasensky et al. *The Peace Puzzle: America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011* (Ithaca, 2013), chap. 1.

27. סיכום: האם ארצות הברית שוקעת?

(ניתן לבחור כל אחד מן המאמרים הללו כ"מקור" – לאמור, לנתח אותם ולבקר אותם).

*Joseph Nye, *The Future of Power* (New York, 2011), chap. 7.

*Joseph Lieber, "Can the US Retain Primacy," *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* 3 (2011), pp. 23-36.

*Bruce Jentleson and Steven Weber, "America's Hard Sell," *Foreign Policy* (Nov./Dec. 2008), pp. 43-49.

Additional Reading Material:

Robert Schulzinger, *U.S. Diplomacy Since 1900* (E 744 S 399)

Thomas G. Paterson, *Major Problems in American Foreign Policy* (E 183.7 M 28 1995)

Michael Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson (eds.), *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (E 183.7 E 96)

Michael Hogan, *America in the World* (E 744 A 486)

Michael H. Hunt, *Crises in U.S. Foreign Policy* (E 744 H 88)

Gordon Martel, *American Foreign Relations Reconsidered, 1890-1993* (E 744 A 53)

John G. Ikenberry, *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays* (New York: Longmann, 2002), 4th ed. (JZ 1480 A 96)

Course/Module evaluation:

End of year written/oral examination 0 %

Presentation 0 %

Participation in Tutorials 10 %

Project work 50 %

Assignments 40 %

Reports 0 %

Research project 0 %

Quizzes 0 %

Other 0 %

Additional information: