

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Syllabus

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

Last update 28-01-2024

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, 15.00-16.00

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, to identify key American foreign policy schools, and to better understand current trends in US foreign policy

Attendance requirements(%):

א77

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
- C. The American Experience in Negotiation and Mediation: General

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8. The Inter-Cultural Dimension
 9. The United States and China: Tacit Understanding, Breakthroughs and Maintaining Momentum
 10. The United States and the Soviet Union: Why did the Cold War End?
 - D. Negotiating in the Middle Eastern Context
 11. The Middle East through the American prism
 12. Why and How did the United States and Israel construct a "Special Relationship"?
 13. Kissinger, status quo diplomacy, the Yom Kippur War and the theory of maturation
 14. Carter, Camp David and Israeli-Egyptian Peace
 - E. Foreign Policymaking Processes
 15. Systemic and Economic Explanations
 16. The Department of State and the National Security Council
 17. The Intelligence Process
 18. Presidential Style in Foreign Affairs
 19. Analogical Thinking and Groupthink
 20. The Personality factor – and the Cultural Turn
 - F. The Contemporary Scene
 21. Russia's Foreign Policy Orientation
 22. China's Foreign Policy Orientation
 23. "The Crisis of Opportunity" under Clinton: Humanitarian Intervention and the Failure in Russia
 24. Navigating the Relationship with Western Europe and China
 25. The Oslo Trauma and America's role
 26. Bush Jr., Obama, (Trump) and the Middle East
 27. Is the United States Declining?

Required Reading:

א. מבוא ויסודות

1. מבוא: ארה"ב כשחקן הגמוני כתחום מחקר

*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

מסמכים:

Henry Luce, "The American Century," in Michael Hunt, *The World Transformed: 1945 to the Present, a Documentary Reader* (Boston, 2004), pp. 10-13. (M)
 "Presidential Pronouncements on National Identity and Mission" (Bush Sr., Clinton, Bush Jr. and Obama), in Hunt, *World Transformed*, 440-444 (M) [הרפרט עבודת לצרכי]

יש לבחור נאום אחד מאלה].

מאמרים:

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

*Paul Pillar presentation of his book, *Why America Misunderstands the World* (New York, 2016) (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v&eq;XWhQfaZzD6k>)

3. דעת קהל והקונגרס

מסמכים

- "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.

- Wilson Address to the Senate, 22 January 1917,
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid&eq;65396>

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 1981-2) (M)

ב. אסטרטגיות במלחמה הקרה

4. כיצד לבלום את ברה"מ וסין? אסטרטגיות בלימה בעידן טרומן – ומקרתיות

מסמכים

- "Long Telegram," in Hunt, *World Transformed* (2nd edition), pp. 28-29 (M).

- "The Truman Doctrine," in Hunt, *World Transformed* (2nd ed.), 32-33 (M).

- 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* (2nd ed.), 48-52 (M).

- "McCarthy's Accusations," in Engel, Lawrence and Preston, 180-181.

- Movie: Elia Kazan and "On the Waterfront"

- Movie: "Invasion of the Body Snatchers"

- Movie: "The Manchurian Candidate"

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 אסטרטגיה-רבתי מתאימה לעידן הגרעיני? "תגובה מסיבית", "תגובה גמישה" והמחלוקת על ערך הדו-קוטביות הגרעינית בשנות השמונים

מסמכים

- Eisenhower's Farewell Address
(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CWilyYW_fBfY)
- "Spreading Nuclear Fear," Hunt, *The World Transformed*, 145-153.
- Reagan announcing the Strategic Defense Initiative
(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4hGLBA65tZg>)
- The Limited Test Ban Treaty (1963)
- Movie: "Dr. Strangelove"
- Movie: "The Day After"
- Movie: "Wargames" (1983)

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) (M)

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

מסמכים

- Book: Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth*
- 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)
- New Left Leaders: Tom Hayden and Stokely Carmichael, in Hunt, *World Transformed*. 2nd edition, 159-163 (M).
- 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 וימין

מסמכים

- "The Kitchen Debate" between Nixon and Khrushchev, 1959, in Hunt, *World Transformed*, pp. 184-187 (M).

- "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.

הניסיון האמריקני במשא ומתן ובתווך: כללי

8. המימד הבין-תרבותי

מסמכים

- "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. (M)

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

מסמכים

- "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)

*Jeremi Suri, "From Isolation to Engagement: American Diplomacy and the Opening to China, 1969-1972," in Robert Hutchings and Jeremi Suri, eds., *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs: Cases in Successful Diplomacy* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 101-120. (M)

10. ארצות הברית וברית המועצות: מדוע נסתיימה המלחמה הקרה

מסמכים

- הויכוח הפנימי במודיעין האמריקני לגבי מהות האיום הסובייטי:

<https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/at-cold-wars-end-us-intelligence-on-the-soviet-union-and-eastern-europe-1989-1991/16526pdf/files/NIE11-4-89.pdf>

- 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,'

<http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/speech-3409>.

- Reagan's "Tear Down this Wall" speech,

<http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/speech-3415>

מאמר

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

ג. הניסיון האמריקני במשא ומתן ובתווך: המזרח התיכון

11. גוליבר בארץ התעתועים: המזרח התיכון בעיניים אמריקניות

מסמכים:

Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage," *Atlantic Monthly* (September 1990): 1-11.

אדוארד סעיד, אוריינטליזם (תל אביב: עם עובד, 2000), 275-286.

"Orientalism: an Exchange," *New York Review of Books*, Aug. 12, 1982.

מאמרים:

*Melanie Mcalister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media and U.S. Interests in the Middle East since 1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 1-29. (M)

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

מסמכים

- 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

- Kennedy, Israel and the bomb (i.e. Kennedy-Ben Gurion meeting, 30 May 1961

(see <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/nukevault/ebb547-Kennedy-Dimona-and-the-Nuclear-Proliferation-Problem-1961-1962/>)

- Conversation between Meir Amit and Secretary McNamara, 1 June 1967,

<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v19/d124>

- סרט: EXODUS

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

- ההתמודדות בין ממשל אייזנהואר לקונגרס בנוגע לצעדי עונשין כלפי ישראל לאחר מבצע קדש,

83 מסמך וגם) <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v17/d120>

באותו כרך).

- בוש האב ונאום הביקורת על ALPAC בהקשר "משבר הערבויות", 12 לספטמבר 1991
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid&eq;19969>

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)

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

13. "דיפלומטית הקיפאון", מלחמת יום כיפור, תיאוריית הבשלות והסדרי הביניים

מסמכים:

תעודות 47 ו - 48 באוסף WAR OCTOBER THE AND US THE

<http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB98/>

- שיחת רבין עם קיסנינג'ר בארבע עיניים, 11 פברואר 1975. בלוג ארכיון המדינה.

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B4OMNGDqjTdNSTc2b0s1a0czbzA/view>

מאמרים:

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

*נעם כוכבי, "התועלת שבדיפלומטיה מסתגלת: ישראל, ייצוב היחסים המיוחדים והתפנית השמרנית בשותפות הישראלית-אמריקנית, 1967-1973", קתדרה 163 (ניסן תשע"ז), 191-222. (M)

14. קרט, קמפ דייוויד והשלום המצרי

מסמכים:

- "Strategy for Camp David," Brzezinski to Carter, 31 August 1978,

http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/1821105/1978-08-31c.pdf

- US-Soviet Joint Statement on the Middle East,

<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1977-80v08/d120>

- Carter Handwritten note to Sadat, 21 October 1977,

<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1977-80v08/d134>

מאמר:

*Galia Golan, "Sadat and Begin: Successful Diplomacy to Peace," in Robert Hutchings and Jeremi Suri, eds., *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs: Cases in Successful Diplomacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), chap. 6. (M)

ד. תהליכי קבלת החלטות במדיניות החוץ האמריקנית

15. הסברים מערכתיים וכלכליים

מסמכים:

"Twain's Parodies," Engel, Lawrence and Preston, pp. 54-55.

"The New Left Critique," in Engel, Lawrence and Preston, pp. 219-221; and The Students for a Democratic Society's Port Huron Statement, 1962, in Suri, *American Foreign Relations*, 114-121.

"The Domino Theory," in Engel, Lawrence and Preston, pp. 256-257.

"Why America Fights," Johnson Address, Engel, Lawrence and Preston, 267-269.

מאמרים

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)

16. קהיליית מדיניות החוץ: מחלקת המדינה והמועצה לביטחון לאומי

מסמכים

- NSA documents on Iran-Contra affair, e.g.:

<http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB567-Iran-Contra-Reagan-Oliver-North-and-Post-Truth-30-years-later/>

<http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB210/>

<http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB483/>

- מאמרים עיתונאיים הדנים במעמד משרד החוץ בעידן טרמפ בהקשר המזרח התיכון, למשל:

Julia Ioffe, "The State of Trump's State Department," *The Atlantic*, March 1, 2017,

<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/03/state-department-trump/517965/>

- I

"Trump assigns White House Team to Target Iran Nuclear Deal, Sidelining State Department," *Foreign Policy*, 21 July 2017,

<http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/07/21/trump-assigns-white-house-team-to-target-iran-nuclear-deal-sidelining-state-department/>

מאמרים

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)

17. התהליך המודיעיני

מסמכים

- מעורבות ארה"ב בהפלת מוחמד מוסאדק באיראן, 1954. למשל:

<http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB598-State-Department-releases-documents-on-US-backed-1953-coup-in-Iran/>

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

- וועדות החקירה על כשלון 9/11

מאמר

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

18. הנשיא וסגנון הניהול: בוש ומלחמת המפרץ הראשונה

מסמכים:

- 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)

19. חשיבה קבוצתית ואנלוגיות: בוש הבן ועיראק

מסמכים:

- 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.

- William Keller (former New York Times Executive Editor), "My unfinished 9/11 business," <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/06/us/sept-11-reckoning/keller.html>

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/>

20. מבנה האישיות-והתפנית התרבותית

מסמכים:

Huey Newton, "Black Nationalism and the Third World," in Engel, Lawrence and Preston, 226-228; and Martin Luther King, "The Rising Tide of Racial Consciousness," in Suri, *American Foreign Relations*, 106-107.

מאמרים

*Richard H. Immerman, "Psychology," in Hogan, *Explaining the History* (זה פריט) הועלה לאתר הקורס בצוותא עם המאמר של מקמהון מן השיעור הראשון)

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)

ה. העידן הנוכחי

21. תפיסת התפקיד הרוסית: גיאופוליטיקה וזיכרון הסטורי

מאמרים:

*Andrew C. Kuchins and Igor Zevelev, "Russia's Contested National Identity and Foreign Policy," in Henry R. Nau, Deepa Ollapally, *Worldviews of Aspiring Powers: Domestic Foreign Policy Debates in China, India, Iran, Japan and Russia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). (M)

22. תפיסת התפקיד הסינית: גיאופוליטיקה וזיכרון הסטורי

*Zheng Wang, *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations* (New York, 2012), chap. 2.

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

מסמכים:

- 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. (M)

24. אחים חורגים ומעצמות עולות: כיצד לנהל את היחסים עם אירופה המערבית – ועם סין?

מסמכים:

- Kennedy's speech in Berlin,

<http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/speech-3376>.

Kissinger's "Year of Europe" Speech (http://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2002/9/30/dec472e3-9dff-4c06-ad8d-d3fab7e13f9f/publishable_en.pdf)

- Donald Rumsfeld Comments on "Old Europe" ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Old_Europe_\(politics\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Old_Europe_(politics)))

- 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.

<https://2001-2009.state.gov/s/d/former/zoellick/rem/53682.htm>

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

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,"

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*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)

25. תהליך אוסלו והתפקוד האמריקני

מסמכים:

- *The Clinton Peace Parameters* (December 23, 2000)

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מרטין אינדיק, שלום אמריקני (תל אביב: עם עובד, 2009), 245-332, 13-25.
26. המתנתק והתמים (?) בארץ זרה: מאזן ומורשת ממשלי בוש הבן ואובמה בניהול הסכסוך הערבי-ישראלי

מסמכים:

- Bush speech: Middle East Initiative, June 24, 2002 (<http://heb.inss.org.il/uploadimages/president%20bush%20speech%20-%20middle%20east%20initiative.pdf>)

- Aaron David Miller, "Israel's Lawyer," *Washington Post*, 23 May 2005, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/05/22/AR2005052200883.html?utm_term=.f37477ad1a90

- Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Obama Doctrine," *The Atlantic*, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/04/the-obama-doctrine/471525/>
Dan Kurtzer, William Quandt, Harold Saunders, "Panel: Based on the U.S. Diplomacy of the 1970s, Our Advice to Secretary of State Kerry," *The Yom Kippur War: a Launching Pad for U.S. Middle East Policy*, 10 September 2013 (INSS webcast), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TH5tgmDYf-o>

מאמרים

אהרן מילר, הארץ המובטחת מדי: המרדף החמקמק של אמריקה אחר שלום במזרח התיכון (תל אביב, 2008), פרק 9. (M)

*Dennis Ross, *Doomed to Succeed: The U.S.-Israel Relationship from Truman to Obama* (New York, 2015), chap. 12 (M).

27. סיכום: האם ארצות הברית שוקעת?

מסמכים:

(ניתן לבחור כל אחד מן המאמרים הללו כ"מסמך" - 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 (M).

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

מאמר

Harry Harding, "Has U.S. China Policy Failed?," *The Washington Quarterly* 38:3 (2015): 95-122. (M)

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)

Grading Scheme:

Essay / Project / Final Assignment / Home Exam / Referat 65 %

Submission assignments during the semester: Exercises / Essays / Audits / Reports / Forum / Simulation / others 35 %

Additional information: