

Government 2817: America Confronts the World
(Peter Katzenstein; Fall 2025; T, Th 2:55pm-4:10pm, Rockefeller 230)

Teaching Staff: Peter Katzenstein (pjk2) [Instructor, preferred calling name is PK], Helena Crusius (hwc35) and Esam Boraey (emb435) [TAs]. PK Office: White Hall 321. Office hours: Sign-up sheets are posted on my office door each Monday morning for the coming week. TA Office: White Hall Basement. Each TA will post their office number and hours and announce them in sections.

Course web site URL: <https://canvas.cornell.edu>. TAs will post information concerning the course and sections here. Your normal contact for anything related to this course is your TA. If your TA cannot help you, write to me (pjk2).

Course Description: The two candidates for the 2024 Presidential election gave us two different visions of America and of the world: pragmatic liberalism and strident nationalism. This is not to deny that each party contains a multitude of voices. These contrasting visions show that America and the world are constituted by great diversity. The first half of the course seeks to understand that diversity in American politics and foreign policy. The second half focuses on the diversity of the world's different regions and the many ways in which America engages or confronts it. The course suggests that advocates of one-size-fits-all solutions to America's and the world's variegated politics are in for big disappointments.

- The *first half* of the course argues that America is now deeply divided, as it has often been in the past. Its multiple traditions are reflected in different coalitions that shape our political institutions and that are prone to pursue different policies. With political divisions not stopping at the water's edge, the main fault line on issues of foreign policy does not always follow neatly along partisan alignments. Instead, multiple intersections of ideology, class, religion, race and region shape American politics and foreign policy. The South, in particular, has played a pivotal role in American foreign policy. These conflicts occur in a state that is living on military steroids and in a nation walking on civilizational stilts.
- The *second half* of the course inquires into how the United States has engaged with or confronted different countries and world regions. During the Cold War, the United States was able to contain the Soviet Union because of its successful incorporation of Germany and Japan, two former enemies turned supporter-states, into an anti-Communist alliance. Defeated, occupied and subsequently persuaded, both Germany and Japan became civilian powers and strong allies of the United States. In some ways, they have become the model for a foreign policy success that the U.S. has sought to emulate in other places: in the 1960s and 1970s, with spectacular failure, in the lost war in Vietnam and during the last generation, in exercises of futility, in the lost wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. With the Cold War receding into history, America's engagement with and confrontation of different world civilizations and regions is now occurring on very different terms than those of unquestioned primacy rooted in total victory. China, Russia and India drive home that point, as do the complex politics of Europe, the Americas, Africa and the Middle East. They all provide very different terrains for engagement and confrontation.

The theme that connects the two parts of the course is multiplicity – of interests, purposes and different forms of power. When the multiple gears that connect America with the world mesh, mutual engagements are possible that preserve diversity in values within a loosely shared sense of moral purpose and international order. When those gears do not mesh, mutual engagement gives way to confrontation, fed by conflicts of interest, different worldviews and misunderstandings. The matching or mismatching gears are operated by different actors: governments in Washington D.C. and other national capitals, military leaders, corporate executives, NGOs and individuals meeting in the world of virtual chat rooms or organizing in the back-alleys of far-flung places.

Credits: This course is offered as a four-credit course.

Covid: For most of us, for now, this is over with – until the next pandemic. (Even though we do not like to think about it, pandemics, like extreme weather, are likely to become more frequent occurrences). But some of us are highly susceptible to virus infections or for other reasons want to or need to be careful. This course will follow

university health guidelines. Please talk to your TA and/or me about any health concerns you may have. I will do everything in my power to accommodate your needs. If members of the teaching staff fall ill, lectures and sections will be taught via zoom.

No electronics in the classroom: Government 2817 is taught in a computer- and phone-free lecture hall. PK has learned over the years that the advantages of this rule outweigh its disadvantages. The TAs and I will enforce this rule strictly. Please spare all of us the embarrassment of asking you to leave the lecture hall. The TAs will decide how to handle this issue in the sections they teach.

Lectures, Sections, 'Labs' and Guests: Classes will be a mixture of two weekly lectures and one section meeting. Lecture and section attendance is mandatory. Section attendance and participation will account for 25% of your overall grade, as will lecture and 'lab' attendance.

Lecture outlines will be posted by Sunday evening for the coming week. I encourage you to download and print the outlines so that you can take notes in the margins rather than scribbling furiously during class. Each lecture will normally start with an open mic session, for general points and a discussion of current news.

Sections will start after the first lecture during the first week of the semester. In consultation with the entire teaching staff, each TA is in charge of running their own sections.

In addition, there are seven 'Lab' sessions with PK. This will give us more time to discuss arguments made in lecture and/or readings and to discuss current events. These 'lab' sessions are meeting in White Hall 106 from 9:00am to 10am on September 5, 19, October 3, 17, 31, November 14, and December 5. You must attend five of the seven 'labs.' Admittedly this is a brutal time (though less brutal than the 8am meeting time for students enrolled in Govt 1817). Requiring PK's explicit consent, one option for occasional conflicts -- because you may have other meetings scheduled at that time or because you are out of town -- is an earlier hour on Friday (8-9am) when I meet in the same room with students enrolled in Govt 1817. The other default is meeting me during my office hours for 15 minutes of free-wheeling discussion. It is your responsibility to schedule those meetings by signing up for office hours and to come prepared to talk about a question that interests you.

Guests are most welcome during lectures and 'labs' (but not sections). Please come a little earlier so that you have time to introduce your guest to me. I will welcome them at the beginning of class and then the entire class (or 'lab') will greet our guest(s) with a round of applause to make them feel welcome and part of our community for that one hour.

Readings and Current News: Course readings are available either on the Government 2817 Canvas site or on the websites accessible through the links provided on the syllabus. Lectures and readings deliberately do not reinforce each other. Instead, they often present different viewpoints and arguments. Discussions during lectures and in sections give you the opportunity to explore particular arguments made in lecture and readings. This is not a reading list where you must do every reading to "get" the message of the course. Instead, the syllabus is constructed to give you choices to explore topics you care about and possibly wish to write about. As a rough guide I would suggest that, at a minimum, you read about two-thirds of the assigned reading and if you are so inclined probe for additional readings either on this syllabus or on the web.

If to date you have not made the reading of the daily press part of your routine, this course is your chance! The best single source of news for this course, and for international affairs more generally, is *The Financial Times*, available in electronic and paper form. It covers world affairs from a less U.S.-centered perspective than do the major US newspapers, such as *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, *The Los Angeles Times* (and *the Ithaca Journal* or *the Cornell Sun* . . . just kidding). This course will introduce you to *Foreign Affairs*, the most widely circulated foreign affairs journal in the world discussing policy concerns, relying, for the most part, on conventional styles of thought and argumentation.

I-clickers: You must buy an i-clicker at the Campus Store and bring it to every class. When using the clicker in class, your answer will be recorded anonymously and your presence in the hall will thus be recorded. Should you forget to bring your clicker to class, please make sure that you hand your TA or another member of the teaching staff a written note indicating that you attended the lecture. We will use the iClicker remote, not the student app

version. A description of how to download the app has been put on the 2817 Canvas site. Here is another link: <https://teaching.cornell.edu/classroom-polling/using-iclicker-canvas>

Writing Assignments: Interspersed throughout the syllabus you will find readings for 14 Controversies, 2 Town Hall Meetings, and 16 Archived Policy Controversies which were part of prior versions of this course. The 14 controversies and two town hall meetings are the primary material for your writing assignments. Should you wish to write on one of the archived policy controversies, you need the permission of your TA.

You are expected to complete eight writing assignments. Counting for 10 percent each, the best five grades will be used for computing one half of your final course grade. At least four of your assignments must be finished before fall break (for purpose of this class October 5, 5pm), the other four by noon time, Monday December 1st. If you are not making the deadline for a particular assignment, it will be counted as one of your three “worst” writing assignments. After that late assignments will be penalized by the subtraction of one grade point for every 12 hours that the assignment is late (for example, moving an assignment grade from an A- to a B+). Here is a list of the controversies for your writing assignments:

PART 1

CONTROVERSY 1: THE TRAGEDY - FARCE CONUNDRUM
 CONTROVERSY 2: AMERICA’S POWER: GOOD OR BAD, STABLE OR NOT?
 CONTROVERSY 3: AMERICA’S POWER FROM THE RIGHT
 CONTROVERSY 4: AMERICA’S POWER FROM THE LEFT
 CONTROVERSY 5: BUSH’S IRAQ WAR
 CONTROVERSY 6: THE BIDEN “DOCTRINE” AND DEFEAT IN AFGHANISTAN
 CONTROVERSY 7: THE (RE)TURN (OF)TO AUTHORITARIANISM

PART 2

CONTROVERSY 8: DECLINISM OR NOT?
 CONTROVERSY 9: CONSERVATIVES AND LIBERALS ON GEOPOLITICS – REALITY OR ILLUSION
 CONTROVERSY 10: EUROPE – WEAK OR STRONG?
 CONTROVERSY 11: RUSSIA AND UKRAINE
 CONTROVERSY 12: TRADE WARS OR NOT?
 CONTROVERSY 13: US-CHINA RIVALRY: PREORDAINED OR HOME-COOKED?
 CONTROVERSY 14: ISRAEL, THE ONE STATE / TWO STATE QUANDRY, AND THE WAR IN GAZA

Class policies on the use of chatbots will be shaped by the discussions involving students and the teaching staff in sections, labs and lectures. These discussions will center on the fair and transparent use of chatbots and the ways they can help engage the course material in new and familiar ways. Artificial Intelligence is for the teaching staff a misnomer. We like to think of it as Augmented Intelligence. And we all need to learn how to use the new tool intelligently and constructively. What is most needed is creatively brainstorming over the best use of chatbots in the writing assignments. We will put on Canvas three memos about writing assignment structure, due dates and guidelines; about writing assignment prompts before fall break; and writing assignment prompts after fall break. TAs will develop a set of assignments that is identical for each of the four course sections, and they will be explicit in their expectations of what students can and cannot do.

It is crucial that you adhere to our communicated course policy and Cornell’s policy on academic integrity. If you are unsure of any policy or any assignment-specific directions—including whether or not a tool is considered a chatbot—please consult your TA. The teaching staff will meet every week outside of class to review the course’s evolving practices.

You may find the following link helpful in getting started on exploring AI: <https://teaching.cornell.edu/generative-artificial-intelligence/ai-academic-integrity>. Here is a list of ideas to get us started playing around with chatbots. TAs and you will add to this list and experiment.

- Ask for a brief summary of PK’s, your TA’s and your own life and work. Make it short and fun. (I will share the funniest ones about PK in lecture and/or canvas 😊) – as in sonnet or limerick form, or in the form of a Greek tragedy, pentameter rhymes or....., or.....

- Ask for an evaluation of something, like an article in the Economist, published last week, last month and last year and watch how the chatbot gets better the further back you go. Then ask for an evaluation of something written 10 years, 100 years and 1000 years ago and see how the pattern changes as chatbots have to give answers without adequate textual input. Track when the chatbot simply fabricates stuff.
- Ask for a summary and/or evaluation of something written in English or in a language you are familiar with. Compare the two texts. What did you learn?
- Ask for a summary and/or evaluation that focuses on the standpoint (implicit or explicit ideological preference) of the chatbot.
- Use your own biography or experience, in this class, in college, and/or at home and see whether chatbot can produce illuminating text.
- Have the chatbot write on a topic of your choice. Then ask to chatbot to write again on the same topic specifying that it should draw only on research papers or monographs. Then ask it to write on the same topic specifying trusted websites (say New York Times and the Wall Street Journal). Then ask it to write on the same topic drawing only on some crazy websites (I don't know any....:)). Report your findings.
- Have the chatbot write a conventional memo or research paper with and without footnotes and with and without reference lists insisting on different formats for both footnotes and references.
- Ask the chatbot to do annotated outlines vs bullet point outlines for some topics.
- Test your emotional reaction if/when your TA or professor tells you that they are happy to write a letter of recommendation for you but that it will be produced by a chatbot. Test your intuition about the emotional reaction of your TA or professor should they learn that you have used chatbots simply to cut your workload, and not following the protocol for this course spelled out in the previous paragraph.
- Write a two-page memo about some reading or aspect of the course; ask chatbot to do the same; apply chatbot detection technology to both memos; report what you have found.
- Ask the chatbot to produce text in a foreign language you know and/or something very esoteric – like one of Indonesia's 6,000 or so dialects or ancient Norse....
- Have the chatbot develop the same text for different audiences: kindergarten, elementary school, middle school, high school, college, graduate school, old age homes, athletic clubs, scuba divers, balloon pilots, etc.
- Graham Green's *The Quiet American* (206 pages) is an eerily prescient novel about America's disastrous foreign policy in Vietnam, published ten years before it all began to unfold. It also exists as a movie. Use the chatbot to create an alternative story or subplot, ending of the story or subplot. If you are ambitious, have the chatbot produce images of the alternative or ending. Explain the prompts that you fed to the chatbot to get, or get not, an increasingly rich and illuminating story / visual representation.
- John Le Carré's *A Most Wanted Man* (336 pages) is set in PK's hometown, Hamburg Germany. It is a thinly veiled, furious critique of American foreign policy and the War on Terror. It also exists as a movie. Use the chatbot to create an alternative story or subplot, ending of the story or subplot. If you are ambitious, have the chatbot produce images of the alternative or ending. Explain the prompts that you fed to the chatbot to get, or get not, an increasingly rich and illuminating story / visual representation.

The sky of our imagination is the only limit to experimentation. The TAs will share on Canvas the most important insights members of this class gather in using this new Wo/Man Friday technology. The teaching staff will discuss in weekly staff meetings what various sections have experimented with and learned. Each TA will be free to make the final decision about the writing assignments in the sections they teach.

Two Town Hall Meetings: At the end of each of the two parts of the course, we will spend a class session discussing, respectively:

Town Hall Meeting (1): Make America Great Again – With, Against or Without the World? (October 9)
Town Hall Meeting (2): Dirty Hands: Henry Kissinger – Sage, War Criminal or Both? (December 2)

Town Hall Meetings can be the subject of writing assignments. As they come at the end of Parts I and II, be sure that you are meeting your quota of four memos for each part of the course.

Canvas:

- Go to canvas@cornell.edu

- Log in with NetID
- Once you are logged in, click “Courses”, then click “All Courses”
- Select GOVT 2817 and you’ll be directed to the Canvas homepage of the course
 - You can also favorite GOVT 2817 by clicking on the star beside it. That way, GOVT 2817 will always appear just by clicking on “Courses”.
- Click “Announcements” to find recent announcements
- Click “Syllabus” tab to view class syllabus
- Click “Modules” tab to view class content, which will be organized by weeks. We will publish each module a week before each Monday lecture.
- Click “Assignments” tab to view assignments, then click on desired assignment
 - Click the “submit” option on the page to upload your assignments for submission
 - After submission, a column at the side will indicate successful submission or successful but late submission
 - You can submit as many times as you want before the deadline, and Canvas will only keep your latest submission. However, if you re-submit after the deadline, your submission will be captured and graded as “late”.
- Click “Grades” tab to view grades

Grading: Your grade in this course is based, on your five writing assignments (50%), section attendance and participation (25%), and lecture and ‘lab’ attendance and participation (25%). TAs will accept a physician’s report as a legitimate reason for seeking to reschedule a missed writing assignment deadline. Incompletes will be given only because of circumstances beyond a student's control, such as serious illness or family emergencies.

Background: The Council on Foreign Relations has a useful website that you may wish to explore a little at the beginning of the course. <https://world101.cfr.org/>

Code of Academic Integrity: Each student in this course is expected to abide The Code of Academic Integrity and Acknowledging the Work of Others is found in the Policy Notebook for the Cornell Community and also on the web at <http://theuniversityfaculty.cornell.edu/pdfs/AIAckWorkRev90620.pdf>. An additional document you may want to consult is posted at <http://cuinfo.cornell.edu/Academic/AIC.html>. A Cornell tutorial called Recognizing and Avoiding Plagiarism (available at <http://plagiarism.arts.cornell.edu/tutorial/index.cfm>) is a useful reference. If you are in any doubt about how to cite material that you wish to use, please consult your TA. The electronic version of your work may be run through special software programs.

Students with Disabilities: In compliance with the Cornell University policy and equal access laws, I am available to discuss appropriate academic accommodations that may be required for student with disabilities. Students are encouraged to register with Student Disability Services to verify their eligibility for appropriate accommodations. Students seeking accommodations should submit to their TA and me an accommodation letter from Student Disability Services within the first two weeks of the semester.

Religious Observances: Students may ask for reasonable and timely accommodations for sincerely held religious beliefs. Please review the syllabus closely to determine if your religion will present any scheduling conflicts with any of the assignments. You must inform your TA of any conflicts within the first two weeks of the semester.

Classroom Behavior: Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. Students will treat one another with respect and courtesy. As a teacher I regard the classroom as a sacred place. I will close the door to the lecture hall myself, at the beginning of each class. This is a symbolic act to which I attach great importance. We are a community of learners and as such we deal with each other with utmost respect especially when we discuss fraught issues inviting different political views. The first session offers you two different readings (by Shields and Belkin) on this absolutely central aspect of this course.

Copyright Material: Whether it is especially marked as copyright material or not, the instructor expressly prohibits students to sell any of the course material to any entity or person inside or outside of Cornell. Such a behavior constitutes a very serious form of academic misconduct. Neither the instructor nor Cornell will tolerate such conduct and reserve the right of seeking legal redress.

To end on a positive note: I assure you that many of the issues and ideas we will be discussing are important especially at this pivotal moment in American history and, despite and because of that fact, I will do my very best to make sure that we will have some fun.

CLASS SCHEDULE

[1] 8/26: *Introduction*

- Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *Empire in Retreat: The Past, Present and Future of the United States*. (New Haven: Yale University Press). pp.1-12. (Canvas)
- Marc Hetherington and Jonathan Weiler, *Prius or Pickup?* pp. ix-xxii. (Canvas)
- Elizabeth N. Saunders, “Politics Can’t Stop at the Water’s Edge,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2024): 86-103. <https://go-gale-com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/ps/i.do?p=STND&u=cornell&id=GALE%7CA783722082&v=2.1&it=r&sid=ebsco&aty=ip>.
- Peter Baker, “To Foreign Policy Veteran the Real Danger Is at Home,” *The New York Times* (July 1, 2023). <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/01/us/politics/richard-haass-biden-trump-foreign-policy.html>
- Charles A. Kupchan and Peter L. Trubowitz, “The Home Front: Why an Internationalist Foreign Policy Needs a Stronger Domestic Foundation,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2021): 92-101. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2021-04-20/foreign-policy-home-front>
- Frank Rich, “The Original Donald Trump,” *New York Magazine* (April 29, 2018). <https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2018/04/frank-rich-roy-cohn-the-original-donald-trump.html>
- Fintan O’Toole, “The Designated Mourner,” *The New York Review of Books* (January 16, 2020). <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2020/01/16/joe-biden-designated-mourner/>
- “Teaching US Politics in the Age of Trump: International Perspectives,” *PS* (April 2020): 355-62. https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/0850AB58485CC762934E3CF1EBB042D0/S1049096519001951a.pdf/trump_and_the_t_ransatlantic_relationship_in_critical_perspective.pdf

CONTROVERSY 1: THE TRAGEDY -- FARCE CONUNDRUM

- Jonathan Kirshner, “Gone but Not Forgotten: Trump’s Long Shadow and the End of American Credibility,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2021): 18-27. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2021-01-29/trump-gone-not-forgotten>.
- Michael Beckley, “The Strange Triumph of a Broken America,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2025): 50-71. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/issues/2025/104/1>.
- *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2025): 8-49 [pick your articles but not more than two]. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/issues/2025/104/1>.
- Kori Schake, “Dispensable Nation: America in a Post-American World,” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2025): 8-21. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/dispensable-nation-schake>.
- Edward Wong, “Trump’s Vision: One World, Three Powers?” *The New York Times* (May 26, 2025). <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/05/26/us/politics/trump-russia-china.html>.

I. America at Home: Encountering Multiple “Selves”

[2] 8/28: *Decline and Renewal?*

- Joel F. Cassman and David Lai, “Football vs. Soccer,” *Armed Forces Journal* (November 2003): 49-54. (Canvas)
- Joseph S. Nye, Jr., “Do Presidents Really Steer Foreign Policy?” *The Atlantic* (June 2013). <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2013/06/do-presidents-matter/309307/>
- Edward Wong, “On U.S. Foreign Policy, the New Boss Acts a Lot Like the Old One,” *The New York Times* (July 25, 2022). <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/24/us/politics/biden-trump-foreign-policy.html>

- David E. Sanger, “Power, Money, Territory: How Trump Shook the World in 50 Days,” *The New York Times* (March 12, 2025). <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/03/11/us/politics/trump-50-days-foreign-policy.html>.
- Yaroslav Trofimov, “In a New Age of Empire, Great Powers Aim to Carve Up the Planet,” *The Wall Street Journal* (January 17, 2025). <https://www.wsj.com/world/in-a-new-age-of-empire-great-powers-aim-to-carve-up-the-planet-fef072f7>.

CONTROVERSY 2: AMERICA’S POWER: GOOD OR BAD, STABLE OR NOT?

- Ngaire Woods, “Order without America: How the International System Can Survive a Hostile Washington,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2025): 82-93. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/donald-trump-order-without-america-ngaire-woods>.
- Fareed Zakaria, “The Self-Doubting Superpower,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2024): 38-55. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/self-doubting-superpower-america-fareed-zakaria>.
- Robert Kagan, “Cowboy Nation: Against the Myth of American Innocence,” *The New Republic* (October 23, 2006). <https://carnegieendowment.org/2006/10/17/cowboy-nation-pub-18796>.
- Stephen G. Brooks and William Wohlforth, “The Myth of Multipolarity: American Power’s Staying Power,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2023): 76-91. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/china-multipolarity-myth>
- G. John Ikenberry, “Why American Power Endures: The U.S.-Led Order Isn’t in Decline,” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2022): 56-73. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/why-american-power-endures-us-led-order-isnt-in-decline-g-john-ikenberry>
- Andrew J. Bacevich, “The Reckoning That Wasn’t: Why America Remains Trapped by False Dreams of Hegemony,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2023): 6-21. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/andrew-bacevich-the-reckoning-that-wasnt-america-hegemony>

[3] 9/02: *(Neo-)Conservatism and Ethnic Nationalism*

- Matthew Continetti, *The Right: The Hundred-Year War for American Conservatism*, pp. 403-15. (Pdf on Canvas).
- Jerry Z. Muller, “Us and Them: The Enduring Power of Ethnic Nationalism,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2008). <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/2008-03-02/us-and-them>
- Walter Russell Mead, “The Tea Party and American Foreign Policy: What Populism Means for Globalism,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2011): 28-44. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2011-03-01/tea-party-and-american-foreign-policy>
- Jennifer Schuessler, “Polishing the Nationalist Brand in the Trump Era,” *The New York Times* (July 19, 2019): C1, C4. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/19/arts/trump-nationalism-tucker-carlson.html>
- Andrew J. Bacevich, “Saving ‘America First’: What Responsible Nationalism Looks Like,” *Foreign Affairs* (Sept./Oct. 2017). <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/saving-america-first>
- Josh Dawsey, Vera Bergengruen and Alexander Ward, “The Painting that Explains Trump’s Foreign Policy,” *The Wall Street Journal* (March 13, 2025). <https://www.wsj.com/politics/the-painting-that-explains-trumps-foreign-policy-c387323a>.
- Ian Ward, “The Seven Thinkers and Groups that Have Shaped JD Vance’s Unusual Worldview: Post-liberals, “Crunchy Cons” and Monarchists,” *Politico* (July 18, 2024). <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2024/07/18/jd-vance-world-view-sources-00168984>
- Nathan Taylor Pemberton, “Trolling Democracy: The Radical Trolls Who Are Influencing the White House,” *The New York Times* (July 13, 2025). <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/07/10/opinion/trolling-democracy.html>

CONTROVERSY 3: AMERICA’S POWER FROM THE RIGHT

- Donald Trump, “Remarks by President Trump to the 74th Session of the United Nations General Assembly” (September 25, 2019). <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-74th-session-united-nations-general-assembly/>.
- Jennifer Mittelstadt, “Why Does Trump Threaten America’s Allies? Hint: It Starts in 1919,” *The New York Times* (February 4, 2025). <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/02/02/opinion/trump-panama-greenland-foreign-policy.html>.

- Kori Schake, “The Case for Conservative Internationalism,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2024): 77-87. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/donald-trump-case-conservative-internationalism>
- Walter Russell Mead, “Trump’s Greenland Gambit,” *The Wall Street Journal* (March 31, 2025). https://www.wsj.com/opinion/trumps-greenland-gambit-foreign-policy-national-security-a8403412?gaa_at=cafs&gaa_n=ASWzDAgi7IDEIMM4DUihuo-QYU8EDv8Im_E raAX-mElHSnNEHJqHP3dGilXxeQAZA%3D%3D&gaa_ts=688a31e1&gaa_sig=yFmztnb4D3VEs1EIznO1es6kd_E5G8bWusHebt1rMPjflpu9FLOYEDb15Ng_R8tbH4yl-6zIfQcf-Kb3WLNl8g%3D%3D
- Henry R. Nau, “Why Reagan Matters,” *National Review* (July 10, 2022). <https://www.nationalreview.com/2022/07/why-reagan-matters/>
- Susan B. Glasser, “Whose Ronald Reagan?” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2024). <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/whose-ronald-reagan-trump-susan-glasser>
- John R. Bolton, “Civilization, Not Isolation,” *National Review* (July 10 2023): 33-36. <https://www.nationalreview.com/magazine/2023/07/10/civilization-not-isolation/>
- Condoleezza Rice, “The Perils of Isolationism,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2024): 8-25. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/perils-isolationism-condoleezza-ric>

[4] 9/04: *(Neo)-Liberalism and Civic Nationalism*

- Paul Starr, “War and Liberalism; Why power is not the enemy of freedom,” *The New Republic* (March 5, 2007). <https://newrepublic.com/article/63675/war-and-liberalism-why-power-not-the-enemy-freedom>
- Peter Beinart, “Obama’s Idealists: American Power in Theory and Practice,” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2019): 162-69. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/review-essay/2019-10-07/obamas-idealists>
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- Suzanne Mettler and Robert C. Lieberman, “The Fragile Republic: American Democracy Has Never Faced So Many Threats All at Once,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2020): 182-95. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-08-07/democracy-fragile-republic>
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- Taesuh Cha, "The Formation of American Exceptional Identities: A Three-tier Model of the 'Standard of Civilization' in US Foreign Policy," *European Journal of International Relations* 21, 4 (2015). <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1354066114562475?journalCode=ejta>
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10/03 'LAB' SESSION 3: 9-10am White Hall 106[13] 10/07 *American History Refracted*

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- Carlos Lozada, “I Looked Behind the Curtain of American History, and This Is What I Found,” *The New York Times* (January 6, 2023). <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/06/opinion/kruse-zelizer-myth-history.html>

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Town Hall Meeting (1): Make America Great Again – With, Against or Without the World?

- Stacie E. Goddard, “The Rise and Fall of Great Power Competition: Trump’s New Spheres of Influence,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2025): 8-23. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/rise-and-fall-great-power-competition>.
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- Tara Zahra, “Globalization is Collapsing. Brace Yourselves for Catastrophe,” *The New York Times* (April 6, 2025). <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/04/05/opinion/globalization-collapse.html>.
- Suzanne Berger, “Globalization Survived Populism Once Before – and It Can Again,” *Boston Review* (January 30, 2018). <http://bostonreview.net/class-inequality/suzanne-berger-globalization-survived-populism>
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- Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., “The End of the Long American Century: Trump and the Sources of U.S. Power,” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2025): 68-79. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/end-long-american-century-trump-keohane-nye>
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II. America Abroad: Encountering Multiple “Others”

10/14: *No Class -- Cornell Fall Break Day*

[15] 10/16: *US Primacy in a World of Regions*

- Robert S. Chase, Emily B. Hill, and Paul Kennedy, “Pivotal States and U.S. Strategy,” *Foreign Affairs* 75, 1 (January/February 1996): 33-51. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/algeria/1996-01-01/pivotal-states-and-us-strategy>
- Naazneen Barma, Ely Ratner and Steven Webber, “A World without the West,” *The National Interest* 90 (July/August 2007): 23-30. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42896050>
- Graham Allison, “The New Spheres of Influence,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2020): 30-40. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-02-10/new-spheres-influence>
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CONTROVERSY 8: DECLINISM OR NOT?

- Robert Kagan, “Not Fade Away: The Myth of American Decline,” *The New Republic* (January 2012). <https://newrepublic.com/article/99521/america-world-power-declinism>
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CONTROVERSY 9: CONSERVATIVES AND LIBERALS ON GEOPOLITICS – REALITY OR ILLUSION?

- Henry R. Nau, “What Trump Gets Right About U.S. Foreign Policy,” *The National Interest* 167 (April 30, 2020): 49-57. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/what-trump-gets-right-about-us-foreign-policy-149526>
- G. John Ikenberry, “The Next Liberal Order: The Age of Contagion Demands More Internationalism, Not Less,” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2020): 133-42. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-06-09/next-liberal-order>
- Walter Russell Mead, “The Return of Geopolitics: The Revenge of the Revisionist Powers,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2014). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24483407>
- G. John Ikenberry, “The Illusion of Geopolitics: The Enduring Power of the Liberal Order,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2014). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24483408>

10/17 ‘LAB’ SESSION 4: 9:00-10:00am White Hall 106

[16] 10/21: *Europe*

- Hendrickson, David C. “Of Power and Providence: The Old U.S. and the new EU,” *Policy Review* 135 (Feb/March 2006): 23-42. <https://davidhendricksonorg.files.wordpress.com/2020/07/of-power-and-providence.pdf>
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- Roger Cohen, “War in Ukraine Has Changed Europe Forever,” *The New York Times* (February 26, 2023): A1, A9. <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/26/world/europe/ukraine-russia-war.html>
- Timothy Garton Ash, “Postimperial Empire: How the War in Ukraine is Transforming Europe,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2023): 64-75. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/europe-war-russia-postimperial-empire>

CONTROVERSY 10: EUROPE – WEAK OR STRONG?

- Robert Kagan, “Power and Weakness,” *Policy Review* 113 (June/July 2002): 3-28. <http://proquest.umi.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/pqdweb?did=127152721&sid=2&Fmt=3&clientId=8424&RQT=309&VName=PQD>
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- Celeste A. Wallander, “Beware the Europe You Wish for: The Downsides and Dangers of Allied Independence,” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2025): 22-35. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/europe/beware-europe-you-wish-wallander>.

[17] 10/23: *Russia and Eurasia*

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- Andrea Kendall-Taylor and Michael Kofman, “Putin’s Point of No Return,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2025): 72-87. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/russia/putins-point-no-return>
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- Andrei Kolesnikov, “The End of the Russian Idea,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2023): 60-101. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/russian-federation/vladimir-putin-end-russian-idea>
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- Stephen Kotkin, “Russia’s Perpetual Geopolitics: Putin Returns to the Historical Pattern,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2016). <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2016-04-18/russias-perpetual-geopolitics>
- Peter J. Katzenstein and Nicole Weygandt “Mapping Eurasia in an Open World: How the Insularity of Russia’s Geopolitical and Civilizational Approaches Limits Its Foreign Policies,” *Perspectives* 15, 2 (2017): 428-32. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S153759271700010X>
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- Keith Gessen, “The Quiet Americans Behind the U.S.-Russia Imbroglio,” *The New York Times Magazine* (May 8, 2018). <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/08/magazine/the-quiet-americans-behind-the-us-russia-imbroglio.html>

CONTROVERSY 11: RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

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10/31 ‘LAB’ SESSION 5: 9:00am-10:00am White Hall 106

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11/14 ‘LAB’ SESSION 6: 9:00-10:00am White Hall 106

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CONTROVERSY 14: ISRAEL, THE ONE STATE / TWO STATE QUANDRY, AND THE WAR IN GAZA

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11/25 No Class.

[26] 12/02: **TOWN HALL MEETING (2) DIRTY HANDS: HENRY KISSINGER – SAGE, WAR CRIMINAL OR BOTH?**

- "Edward Luce, "The Last Grand Strategists: What Brezinski and Kissinger Could Teach Trump," *Financial Times* (April 12, 2025). <https://www.ft.com/content/84d6ba6b-2898-4aa5-aa27-c0151b56a339>.
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- Dexter Filkins, "Collateral Damage," *The New York Times* (September 27, 2013). <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/29/books/review/the-blood-telegram-by-gary-j-bass.html>
- Peter Kornbluh, "Kissinger's Bloody Paper Trail in Chile," *The Nation* (May/June 2023). <https://www.thenation.com/article/world/kissinger-nixon-pinochet-chile-secret-memo/>
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- Simon Schama, "The Two Americas" *Financial Times* (October 30, 2020). <https://www.ft.com/content/73a26ef6-9083-43bb-8881-b48768a87b92>
- David E. Sanger, *New Cold Wars: China's Rise, Russia's Invasion, and America's Struggle to Defend the West*, pp. 435-50. (Pdf on Canvas)
- Amitav Acharya, "Reasons to Be Optimistic about a Post-American Order," *The New York Times* (April 8, 2025). <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/04/08/opinion/west-american-order-free-trade.html>.
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12/5 'LAB' SESSION 7: 9:00-10:00am White Hall 106

FROM THE ARCHIVES: LIST OF 16 POLICY CONTROVERSIES

POLICY CONTROVERSY 1: FOREIGN POLICY AND THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION (1)

- Randall Schweller, "Three Cheers for Trump's Foreign Policy: What the Establishment Misses," *Foreign Affairs* (Sept./Oct. 2018). <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2018-08-13/three-cheers-trumps-foreign-policy>
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- G. John Ikenberry, "The Plot against American Foreign Policy: Can the Liberal Order Survive?" *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2017). <http://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/fora96&div=56&id=&page=>

POLICY CONTROVERSY 2: FOREIGN POLICY AND THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION (2)

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- Elbridge A. Colby and A. Wess Mitchell, "The Age of Great-Power Competition: How the Trump Administration Refashioned American Strategy," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2020): 118-30. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2019-12-10/age-great-power-competition>

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- Stephen D. Krasner, "The Garbage Can Model for Locating Policy Planning," in Daniel W. Drezner, ed., *Avoiding Trivia* (Washington DC: Brookings, 2009), pp. 159-27. (Canvas).
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POLICY CONTROVERSY 5: OFFSHORE BALANCING OR RETRENCHMENT?

- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "The Case for Offshore Balancing: A Superior U.S. Grand Strategy," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2016). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43946934>
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POLICY CONTROVERSY 6: MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX OR DEFENSE ECONOMY?

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- William J. Lynn III, "The End of the Military-Industrial Complex: How the Pentagon Is Adapting to Globalization," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2014). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24483925>

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POLICY CONTROVERSY 8: JAPAN’S ENIGMA

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- Takashi Shiraishi, “Between the ‘China Dream’ and the ‘Pacific Alliance’: Japanese Strategy in an Age of US-China Rivalry,” *Discuss Japan-Japan Foreign Policy Forum* 58. (June 8, 2020). <https://www.japanpolicyforum.jp/diplomacy/pt2020060818091510418.html>

POLICY CONTROVERSY 9: CHINA – SUPERPOWER OR REGIONAL POWER?

- Arvind Subramanian, “The Inevitable Superpower: Why China’s Dominance Is a Sure Thing,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2011). <http://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/fora90&div=89&id=&page=>
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POLICY CONTROVERSY 10: INDIA – SERIOUS OR MAKE-BELIEVE NUCLEAR POWER?

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POLICY CONTROVERSY 11: AFRICA: LIGHT FOOTPRINT OR NOT?

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