Government 2817: America Confronts the World

(Peter Katzenstein; Fall 2020; Md, Wd 2:55pm-4:10pm)

Professor: Peter Katzenstein, preferred calling name is PK, (pjk2@cornell.edu) White Hall 321. Electronic office hours will be announced on Canvas by the beginning of the first full week of classes. I am readily reachable by email (pjk2@cornell.edu).

Teaching Assistants: Mariel (mjb496) and Neo (hn299). They will post their office hours on Canvas by the beginning of the first full week and announce them in section.

Class Time: M Wd 2:55-4:10pm. The class will be synchronously and the expectation is that all students who are in the U.S. or in Europe will meet at the same time. Lectures will be recorded so that students who are in Asia can listen to them the next day. I will meet with those students for a separate discussion session once a week to discuss lectures and readings that happen during the normal lectures in the break-out rooms.

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

Course Description: Donald Trump and Barack Obama give us two visions of America and of the world: xenophobic nationalism and pragmatic cosmopolitanism. 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 some disappointments.

- The *first half* of the course argues that America is now deeply divided as, on occasion, it has been in the past. Its multiple traditions are reflected in different coalitions that shape our political institutions and that are prone to pursue different foreign 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 during the last generation. With the Cold War receding into history, America's engagement with and confrontation of different world civilizations and regions is now occurring on 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 the idea of 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 world views 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.

Covid19: Nobody signed up for a global pandemic or to experience the fallout on their lives. We all are suffering from the various effects of the pandemic – physically, psychologically, economically, politically and in myriad of other ways. This course syllabus looks like any old syllabus – lots of readings, some writings, and as much discussion as we can and must mobilize together for this class. But we are suffering differently and to different degrees. This is true in the general population as it is in this class room. Any number of the general guidelines for this class may not work for one or the other of us. Students may be experiencing unreliable wi-fi, lack of access to quiet study spaces, varied time-zones, or additional responsibilities while studying at home. If you are experiencing these or other difficulties, please contact me to discuss possible accommodations. The teaching staff of this course, both instructor and TAs, are there for you to talk about things that simply will not work for you. The humane option is always the best option. We will be flexible and check in with one another as the course progresses to see if changes need to be made. We will take care of each other and ourselves and remind ourselves that resilience is always in the picture for all of us

Lectures, Sections and Labs:

Classes will be a mixture of two weekly lectures and one section meeting. Lecture and section attendance is mandatory. Throughout the semester (9/10, 9/21, 9/30, 10/13, 10/23, 11/3, 12/2, 12/8) I will hold eight semi-optional "lab sessions," giving us more time to discuss arguments made in lecture and/or readings and to discuss the run-up, result and aftermath of the 2020 Presidential election. You are required to attend at least four of these lab sessions. Lecture notes will be made available on Canvas at least 24 hours before class. Please print them out and take notes in the margins. This way you will be able to listen more carefully and write less. Each lecture will start and end with an open mic session, for general points and a discussion of current news. Because of the distance-learning format, I have shortened my lectures and broken them up into shorter modules. After each module the class will move to break-out rooms for a brief discussion

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).

Reading Assignments, Policy Memos:

Course readings are available either on the Government 2817 Canvas site organized by class number or on the websites noted on the syllabus. Lectures and readings are deliberately not reinforcing 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.

Appended to the syllabus, and tagged to individual class sessions, are 21 "policy controversy" readings. You are expected to write seven memos choosing three from Part 1 and four from Part 2 of the course, and not more than two memos from any one class session. The best five grades will be used for computing one half of your final grade. The memos are due at noon time on 9/14, 9/28, 10/12, 10/26, 11/9, 12/7, and 12/14. Late memos will be penalized by the subtraction of one point every 24 hours that the memo is late. Your memos should summarize the main points of disagreement between the paired readings and come up with your own position. The TAs will talk in section about how to craft a good memo. You are not expected to do any research for writing your memos except the reading for the particular session to which the memo has been assigned. Conciseness in summarizing arguments and making your own argument is essential. Your memos should not be longer than 1,000 words or about 4 pages. If you overshoot the suggested length, self-correct. Avoid filling pages with unnecessary, extended summaries.

Two Town Hall Meetings:

At the end of each of the two parts of the course, we will spend a class session discussing, respectively, some of the domestic and the international aspects of the COVID 19 pandemic and the future of the American order and liberalism.

Zoom Etiquette:

Joining our Zoom classroom

• All lectures, sections, and labs will take place on Zoom.

- We will be using the same Zoom ID for all lectures. A link to the classroom will also be sent to all students on Wednesday, August 2. The link will also be posted on the class Canvas site. You can sync Zoom meetings with your Cornell Gmail Calendar by installing the Zoom add-on.
- Separate Zoom IDs will be used for sections and the semi-optional labs.
- The Zoom meeting for lectures will be available ten minutes before (2:45pm) the start of class. To ensure we start on time, please join the Zoom classroom a couple of minutes before the scheduled start time and you will be directed into a waiting room.
- Only authenticated users (i.e. those with a cornell.edu email) will be able to join our Zoom meetings. Additionally, in line with Cornell policy, the classroom will also automatically be password protected.
- Please join class with your video turned on and keep your microphone muted unless participating in discussion. You are welcome to use a virtual background.
- Please make sure Zoom displays your preferred full name rather than your NetID. This will help Professor
 Katzenstein to call on individuals and facilitate discussion. To rename yourself, <u>please go to the</u>
 "Participants" tab, and click "More" next to your name.
- Please be fully dressed 😊

Participating in our Zoom classroom

- In order for this class to be successful, undivided attention is required. Therefore, please refrain from using other websites, checking email, being on your phone/other devices during class time. Doing so will ensure a lively and productive classroom.
- To ask a question or make a comment, please use the <u>Raise Hand feature (blue hand signal)</u>. When called upon, unmute yourself. Please do not physically raise your hand as this is suboptimal due to the limitations of the gallery view in Zoom. Once you have finished your question/comment, please use the Lower Hand function and mute yourself again.
- Private chat between students will be disabled. You may send questions and comments privately to Mariel especially concerning technical difficulties.
- If, under some circumstances, private chat between students is allowed, please keep chats professional. This is especially important as hosts can view private chat logs after meetings.
- Screen sharing and annotation will also be disabled for students.
- Lectures will make use of breakout rooms to discuss the lecture and/or readings.
- Lectures will be recorded by the teaching staff and placed on Canvas. You are not permitted to record class without the instructor's permission.
- Professor Katzenstein will stay after class for an informal Q&A for those who are interested.
- In the event of catastrophic failure (university-wide Zoom crash, etc.), the teaching staff will endeavor to provide appropriate next steps ASAP via email and Canvas.

The teaching staff recognize that there are many complications arising from online learning, in addition to the extra burdens placed upon us by the ongoing pandemic. If you have any concerns about participating via Zoom or encounter any technical difficulties, please get in touch with the GOVT2817 teaching staff and we will work through a solution.

Canvas:

- Go to login.cornell.canvas.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 the Zoom links for the teaching staff's office hours, a Zoom etiquette guide and this Canvas guide
- 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
- Click "Zoom" tab to find the cloud recordings of Zoom

Office Hours: Please join the office hours of the teaching staff through the Office/Meeting Room.

For office hours, please sign up for slots through Canvas. Then, at your scheduled time, you can join the personal Zoom meeting room and the relevant member of the teaching staff will meet you there. If the staff member is in a meeting with another student, you may be sent to a 'waiting room' until I invite you to the main room.

Background Reading:

If you are interested in getting short, readable assessments of the current state of American foreign policy and world politics you cannot do much better than scanning some of the following sources: Robert Jervis, Francis J. Gavin, Joshua Rovner, and Diane N. Labrosse, eds., *Chaos in the Liberal Order: The Trump Presidency and International Politics in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018) and/or some of the recent special collection of articles published in *Foreign Affairs* under different topics including "Out of Order," (January/February 2017), "Trump Time" (March/April 2017), "Trump and the Allies" (September/October 2017), "Letting Go," (March/April 2018), "Is Democracy Dying" (May/June 2018), "Which World Are We Living in?" (July/August 2018), "Who Will Run the World," (January/February 2019), "The New Nationalism" (March/April 2019), "Searching for a Strategy" (May/June 2019), "What Happened to the American Century?" (July/August 2019), and "Come Home America?" (March/April 2020).

Miscellanea: Each student in this course is expected to abide by the Cornell University Code of Academic Integrity. This means that any written work you submit in this course will be your own. 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/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 will be run through a special software program that verifies the originality and authenticity of your work.

Grading: Your grade in this course is based, on your five reaction memos (50%), section attendance and participation (35%), and lecture and lab attendance and participation (15%). (Zoom takes attendance automatically). I will accept a physician's report as a legitimate reason for seeking to reschedule a missed paper deadline. Incompletes will be given only because of circumstances beyond a student's control, such as serious illness or family emergencies. (A non-refundable airline ticket does not constitute "a circumstance beyond the student's control").

To end on a positive note. I promise you that many of the issues and ideas we will be discussing are important especially at this pivotal moment in American history-- and that we will have fun, despite the unfortunate circumstances and unusual modalities under which we are meeting.

CLASS SCHEDULE

[1] 9/2: *Introduction and Overview* [If this is too much read either Rich or O'Toole; I promise you want to read both since they are very insightful about the two candidates!]

- Lara Putnam, Rust Belt in Transition," *Democracy Journal* 57 (Summer 2020). https://democracyjournal.org/magazine/57/rust-belt-in-transition/ (throughout the syllabus, for some links you need to copy and paste the link if it does not allow you to click directly)
- Giovanni Russonello, "Why Most Americans Support the Protests, *The New York Times* (June 5, 2020). https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/05/us/politics/polling-george-floyd-protests-racism.html
- 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/
- Robert Mickey, Steven Levitsky, Lucan Ahmad Way, "Is America Still Safe for Democracy?" Foreign Affairs (May/June 2017).
 http://cf.linnbenton.edu/artcom/social_science/clarkd/upload/Is%20America%20Still%20Safe%20for%20Dem_ocracy.pdf Victor Bulmer-Thomas, Empire in Retreat: The Past, Present and Future of the United States. (New Haven: Yale University Press). pp.1-12. (Canvas)

I. America at Home: Encountering Multiple "Selves"

[2] 9/7: Decline and Renewal? [If this is too much read either the excellent Trump speech or the compelling Biden article]

- Joel F. Cassman and David Lai, "Football vs. Soccer," Armed Forces Journal (November 2003): 49-54.
 http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/documents/footballsoccer.pdfDonald Trump, "Remarks by President Trump to the 74th Session of the United Nations General Assembly" (September 24, 2019).
 https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-74th-session-united-nations-general-assembly/
- Joseph R. Biden, "Why America Must Lead Again: Rescuing U.S. Foreign Policy After Trump," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2020):64-76. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-01-23/why-america-must-lead-again. 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/
- Henry R. Nau, "Course Correction," *The National Interest* 167 (May/June 2020): 49-57. https://nationalinterest.org/feature/what-trump-gets-right-about-us-foreign-policy-149526
- G. John Ikenberry, "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.

POLICY CONTROVERSY 1: FOREIGN POLICY AND THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION (1) POLICY CONTROVERSY 2: FOREIGN POLICY AND THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION (2) POLICY CONTROVERSY 3: THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION AND THE IRAQ WAR

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

- Jerry Z. Muller, "Us and Them: The Enduring Power of Ethnic Nationalism," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2008). http://www.fulbright.ca/uploads/Us-and-Them.pdf
- Walter Russell Mead, "The Tea Party and American Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2011): 28-44. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25800455?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents
- Jennifer Schuessler, "Rebranding Nationalism in the Age of Trump," *The New York Times* ((July 20, 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/articles/2017-08-15/saving-america-first
 POLICY CONTROVERSY 4: THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION AND THE IRAQ WAR

[4] 9/14: (Neo)-Liberalism and Civic Nationalism

- Paul Starr, "War and Liberalism," *The New Republic* (March 5, 2007). http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=24228670&site=ehost-live
- 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
- Robert Kagan, "Cowboy Nation: Against the Myth of American Innocence," *The New Republic* (October 23, 2006). http://www.gmfus.org/commentary/cowboy-nation-against-myth-american-innocence
- Suzanne Berger, "Brand New Left, Same Old Problems: What Populism Can and Can't Achieve," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2018): 212-16. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/review-essay/2018-08-14/brand-new-left-same-old-problems

POLICY CONTROVERSY 5: DECLINISM OR NOT?

[5] 9/16: Who is US? Liberalism and Race – Realism and Religion [At a minimum read four, choosing from three groups of two readings each, respectively, on race, Obama or religion]

- Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Race in the Modern World: The Problem of the Color Line," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2015). http://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/fora94&div=34&id=&page=
- Susan Pedersen, "Destined to Disappear," *London Review of Books* (October 20, 2016). https://www.lrb.co.uk/v38/n20/susan-pedersen/destined-to-disappear
- Rogers M. Smith, Desmond S. King and Philip A. Klinker, "Challenging History: Barack Obama & American Racial Politics," *Dædalus* 140, 2 (Spring 2011): 121-35.
 http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=2329682881&sid=1&Fmt=3&clientId=8424&RQT=309&VName=P
- Corey Robin, "Obamanauts: What is the Defining Achievement of Barack Obama?" *Dissent* (Fall 2019). https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/the-obamanauts
- Alan Wolfe, "Religious Diversity: The American Experiment that Worked," in Michael Kazin and Joseph A. McCartin, eds., *Americanism*, pp. 153-66. (Canvas)
- Walter Russell Mead, "God's Country?" Foreign Affairs 85, 5 (September/October 2006): 24-45.
 http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=1146013931&sid=9&Fmt=3&clientId=8424&RQT=309&VName=P
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POLICY CONTROVERSY 6: IRRATIONAL OR RATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY MAKING?

[6] 9/21: Who are We? – Creed and Culture [At a minimum read three, the first three are addressing Huntington on identity, the last three the issue of the American creed]

- Samuel Huntington, "The Hispanic Challenge," *Foreign Policy* (March/April 2004): 30-45. https://www.ou.edu/uschina/gries/articles/IntPol/huntington.2004.Hispanic%20challenge.pdf
- Alan Wolfe, "Native Son: Samuel Huntington Defends the Homeland," *Foreign Affairs* 83,3 (May/June 2004): 120-25. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20033980
- Douglas S. Massey, "The Real Hispanic Challenge," *Pathways* (Spring 2015): 3-7.
 https://inequality.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/Pathways Spring 2015 Massey.pdf
- Jason Willick, "Does America Still Have a Common Creed?" The Wall Street Journal (December 1, 2019). https://www.wsj.com/articles/does-america-still-have-a-common-creed-11574902417
- Rogers M. Smith, "The American Creed' and American Identity: The Limits of Liberal Citizenship in the United States," Western Political Quarterly 41, 2 (June 1988): 225-51 (Skip pp.240-245). http://www.jstor.org/stable/448536
- Dana Goldstein, "Two States. Eight Textbooks. Two American Stories," The New York Times (January 13, 2020): A1, A14-15. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/01/12/us/texas-vs-california-history-textbooks.html.

POLICY CONTROVERSY 7: HOLDING BACK OR LEANING IN?
POLICY CONTROVERSY 8: OFFSHORE BALANCING OR RETRENCHMENT

[7] 9/23: *The South as Pivot*

• Peter Trubowitz, Defining the National Interest: Conflict and Change in American Foreign Policy, pp.1-20. (Canvas)

[8] 9/28: American Distinctiveness

- Rogers M. Smith, "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America,"
 <u>American Political Science Review</u> 87, 3 (September 1993): 549-65.
 http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=1516199&sid=13&Fmt=6&clientId=8424&RQT=309&VName=PQD
- Nell Irvin Painter, "What is White America: The Identity Politics of the Majority," Foreign Affairs 98, 6
 (November/December 2019): 177-83. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/review-essay/2019-10-15/what-white-america
- Michael Kazin, "Trump and American Populism," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2016). http://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/fora95&div=120&id=&page=

9/28: SECOND MEMO DUE AT NOON TIME

[9] 9/30: A State on Steroids? American Imperium

- Stephen Skowronek, "What Time Is It?" *First Year 2017* (n.d.). http://web1.millercenter.org/firstyear2017/essay/what-time-is-it.pdf
- Richard Kreitner, "What Time Is It? Here's What the 2016 Election Tells Us about Obama, Trump and What Comes Next," *The Nation* (November 22, 2016). https://www.thenation.com/article/what-time-is-it-heres-what-the-2016-election-tells-us-about-obama-trump-and-what-comes-next/
- Thomas B. Edsall, "The Fight over How Trump Fits in with the Other 44 Presidents," *The New York Times* (May 15, 2019). https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/15/opinion/trump-history-presidents.html
- Charles S. Maier, "America among Empires? Imperial Analogues and Imperial Syndromes," *GHI Bulletin* 41 (Fall 2007). (Canvas)

POLICY CONTROVERSY 9: MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX OR DEFENSE ECONOMY?

9/30: LAB SESSION 3: 4:30PM-5:30PM

[10] 10/5: A Nation on Stilts? American Civilization

- 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
- Charles A. Kupchan, "The Clash of Exceptionalisms: A New Fight over an Old Idea," *Foreign Affairs* (March / April 2018).
 - Https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2018-02-13/clash-exceptionalisms
- Arsalan Suleman, "Return of the Clash: Operationalizing a Tainted Worldview," *The Washington Quarterly* (Winter 2018):49-70.
 https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0163660X.2017.1406707?scroll=top&needAccess=true&journalCode=rwaq20

[11] 10/7: Americanization and Anti-Americanism

- Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through 20th-Century Europe*, Introduction and Conclusion. (Canvas)
- Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane, eds., *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*, pp. 1-6, 306-16. (Canvas)

[12] 10/12: Town Hall Meeting (1): COVID19 [Read at least three; they are all excellent]

 Anne Case and Angus Deaton, "The Epidemic of Despair: Will America's Mortality Crisis Spread to the Rest of the World?" *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2020): 92-102. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-02-03/epidemic-despair

- Edward Luce, "Inside Trump's Coronavirus Meltdown," *Financial Times* (May 14, 2020). https://www.ft.com/content/97dc7de6-940b-11ea-abcd-371e24b679ed
- Cornel Ban and Mark Blyth, "Stop Blaming Trump the U.S. Coronavirus Health Care Crisis Runs So Much Deeper," Foreign Policy (May 14, 2020). https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/05/14/trump-coronavirus-health-care-crisis/?fbclid=IwAR3QbWbbRAGmdMnL1M8iMpcKZQNKrgR7HHE-shPtiEadbR_tiGTJnUGv4x8J
- Michael D. Shear et al, "Push to Pass Off Response to Virus Deepened a Crisis," *The New York Times* (July 19, 2020): A1, 6-7. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/us/politics/trump-coronavirus-response-failure-leadership.html
- David Leonhardt, "U.S. Is Alone among Peers in Failing to Contain Virus," The New York Times (August 7, 2020): A1-7-10. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/06/us/coronavirus-us.htm
- Joshua Busby, "What International Relations Tells about COVID-19," unpublished paper (April 28, 2020).(Canvas)
- Betsy McKay and Phred Dvorak, "A Pandemic was Inevitable. Why Was No One Ready?" The Wall Street Journal (August 14, 2020): A-1, A8-9. https://www.wsj.com/articles/a-deadly-coronavirus-was-inevitable-why-was-no-one-ready-for-covid-11597325213
- Jeremy Page and Lingling Wei, "China's CDC Stumbled When It Mattered Most," The Wall Street Journal (August 18, 2020): A1, A8. https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-cdc-built-to-stop-pandemics-stumbled-when-it-mattered-most-11597675108
- Deborah MacKenzie, "Will a Pandemic Bring Down Civilization," *New Scientist* (April 2, 2008). https://www.friendsoftheirishenvironment.org/eulaw/39-papers-today/science-animals/11391-

10/12: THIRD MEMO DUE AT NOON TIME

10/13: LAB SESSION 4: 11AM-NOON

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

II. America Abroad: Encountering Multiple "Others

[13] 10/19: 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.
 http://proquest.umi.com/pgdweb?did=8928733&sid=1&Fmt=4&clientId=8424&ROT=309&VName=POD
- Naazneen Barma, Ely Ratner and Steven Webber, "A World without the West," The National Interest 90 (July/August2007):23-30.
 http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=25806404&site=ehost-live
- Graham Allison, "The New Spheres of Influence," Foreign Affairs (March/April 2020): 30-40.
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POLICY CONTROVERSY 11: EUROPE – WEAK OR STRONG?

10/23 LAB SESSION 5: 10:00AM-11:AM

10/26: FOURTH MEMO DUE AT NOON TIME

[15] 10/26: Russia and Eurasia

- Keith Gessen, "The Quiet Americans," *The New York Times Magazine* (May 13, 2018). https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/08/magazine/the-quiet-americans-behind-the-us-russia-imbroglio.html
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POLICY CONTROVERSY 12: RUSSIA – ENGAGEMENT OR BREAK-UP?

[16] 10/28: North America

- Brian Bow and Arturo Santa-Cruz, "Diplomatic Cultures: Multiple Wests and Identities in US-Canada and U.S.-Mexico Relations," in Peter J Katzenstein, ed., *Anglo-America and Its Discontents: Civilizational Identities beyond West and East*, pp. 152-75. (Canvas).
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POLICY CONTROVERSY 13: TRADE WARS OR NOT?

[17] 11/2: *Latin America*

- Samuel N. Eisenstadt, "The First Multiple Modernities: Collective Identity, Public Spheres and Political Order in the Americas," in Luis Roniger and Carol H. Waisman, eds., *Globality and Multiple Modernities: Comparative North American and Latin American Perspectives*, pp.7-28 (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press). (Canvas)
- Russell Crandall, "The Post-American Hemisphere: Power and Politics in an Autonomous Latin America," Foreign Affairs 90, 3 (May/June 2011).
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POLICY CONTROVERSY14: WHITHER BOLIVIA?

11/3: LAB SESSION 6: 9AM-10AM

[18] 11/4 Japan

- S.N. Eisenstadt, "Introduction: The Enigma of Japan," *Japanese Civilization: A Comparative View*, pp. 1-19 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). (Canvas)
- 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/pt20200608180915.html

11/9: FIFTH MEMO DUE AT NOON TIME

[19] 11/9: China

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• Minxin Pei, "China's Coming Upheaval: Competition, the Coronavirus, and the Weakness of Xi Jinping," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2020): 82-95. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-04-03/chinas-coming-upheaval

POLICY CONTROVERSY 15: CHINA – SUPERPOWER OR REGIONAL POWER?

FIFTH MEMO DUE AT NOON TIME

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- Robert D. Blackwill and Ashely J. Tellis, "The India Dividend: New Delhi Remains Washington's Best Hope in Asia," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2019): 173-83. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/india/2019-08-12/india-dividend
- Sumit Ganguly and Paul Kapur, "The Myth of Indian Strategic Restraint," National Interest, June 18, 2019. https://nationalinterest.org/print/feature/myth-indian-strategic-restraint-63232
- Gideon Rachman, "India's Narendra Modi has had a Free Press Pass from the West," Financial Times (November 11, 2019). https://www.ft.com/content/a4fe1974-0461-11ea-9afa-d9e2401fa7ca
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11/16-11/29 SEMI-FINAL STUDY DAYS, EXAMS AND THANKSGIVING BREAK

[21] 11/30: Africa

- Nicolas van de Walle, "Obama and Africa," *Foreign Affairs* (September / October 2015). http://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/fora94&div=114&id=&page=
- Brennan M. Kraxberger, "The United States and Africa: Shifting Geopolitics in an 'Age of Terror'," Africa Today 52, 1 (2005). https://muse.jhu.edu/article/187615/summary

POLICY CONTROVERSY 17: AFRICA: LIGHT FOOTPRINT OR NOT?

11/16 LAB SESSION 6: 4:30-5:30pm

[22] 12/2: Middle East and Iran

- Lisa Anderson, "Demystifying the Arab Spring," *Foreign Affairs* 90, 3 (May/June 2011): 2-6. http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=2330151511&sid=13&Fmt=3&clientId=8424&RQT=309&VName=PQD.
- Marwan Muasher, "The Next Arab Uprising: The Collapse of Authoritarianism in the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2018): 113-25. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2018-10-15/next-arab-uprising.
- Sina Toossi, "Iran's hard-Liners are Sitting Pretty: Maximum Pressure and Pandemic Pressure have Consolidated their Power," Foreign Affairs (April 16, 2020). https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iran/2020-04-16/irans-hard-liners-are-sitting-pretty

12/2: LAB SESSION 7: 10AM-11AM

12/7: SIXTH MEMO DUE AT NOON TIME

[23] 12/7: Middle East / Saudi Arabia and Israel

- John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby," *London Review of Books* (March 2006). http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/print/mear01.html
- Walter Russell Mead, "The New Israel and the Old: Why Gentile Americans Back the Jewish State,"
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POLICY CONTROVERSIES 18: COSMOPOLITAN WARS? POLLICY CONTROVERSY 19: ISRAEL AND THE PAESTINIANS POLICY CONTROVERSY 20: MIDDLE EAST PURGATORY OR NOT? POLICY CONTROVERSY 21: POMPEO VS OBAMA

12/8: LAB SESSION 8: NOON-1PM

[24] 12/9: US Standing in the World

- Task Force on U.S. Standing in World Affairs. 2009. U.S. Standing in The World: Causes, Consequences, and the Future. Public Report. Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association http://www.apsanet.org/Portals/54/APSA%20Files/publications/APSA USStanding Short Final.pdf.
- S.N. Eisenstadt, "The Civilizational Dimension in Sociological Analysis," *Thesis Eleven* 62 (2000). DOI: 10.1177/0725513600062000002
- Timothy Garton Ash, Free World, 234-38. (Canvas)

12/14: SEVENTH MEMO DUE AT NOON TIME

[25] 12/14: Town Hall Meeting (2): The Future of the American Order and of American Liberalism

- 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
- Friedman, Thomas L. 2020b. "How We Broke the World," *The New York Times* (May 31): SR5. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/30/opinion/sunday/coronavirus-globalization.html
- Ross Douthat, "The Crisis of the Liberal Zombie Order," *New Statesman* (March 18, 2020). https://www.newstatesman.com/science-tech/coronavirus/2020/03/crisis-liberal-zombie-order
- Peter Katzenstein and Jonathan Kirshner, eds., *The Downfall of the American Order: Liberalism's End?* (Forthcoming) Chps 1 and 10 (Canvas)
- To be decided after November 3, 2020. Selections from *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2020) and some other sources to be posted on Canvas.

[26] 12/16: America and the World in the Era of Trump

- Walter Russell Mead, "A Word from Henry Kissinger," *The Wall Street Journal* (February 6, 2018): A-17. https://www.hudson.org/research/14148-a-word-from-henry-kissinger
- "Teaching US Politics in the Age of Trump, *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
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[2]: Decline and Renewal?

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
- Graham Allison, "The Myth of the Liberal Order: From Historical Accident to Conventional Wisdom,"
 Foreign Affairs (July/August 2018). https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-06-14/myth-liberal-order
- 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=

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Francis Fukuyama, "The Neoconservative Moment," The National Interest (Summer 2004). https://www-jstor-org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/stable/42895959Charles Krauthammer, "In Defense of Democratic Realism," The National Interest (Fall 2004). https://users.clas.ufl.edu/zselden/Course%20Readings/Krauthammer.pdf

[4]: (Neo-)Conservatism and Ethnic Nationalism

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- Christopher Layne, "This Time It's Real: The End of Unipolarity and the *Pax Americana*," *International Studies Quarterly* 56 (2012). http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2011.00704.x/full
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- Daniel W. Drezner, Ronald R. Krebs, and Randall Schweller, "The End of Grand Strategy: America Must Think Small," Foreign Affairs (May/June 2020): 107-117. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2020-04-13/end-grand-strategy

[6]: Who is US? Race and Religion

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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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[7]: Who are We? Good, Bad and Ugly - Creed and Culture

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- Barry R. Posen, "Pull Back: The Case for a Less Activist Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2013). http://www.jstor.org/stable/41721009
- Stephen G. Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, and William Wohlforth, "Lean Forward: In Defense of American Engagement," Foreign Affairs (January /February 2013).
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- Thomas Wright, "The Folly of Retrenchment: Why America Can't Withdraw from the World," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2020): 10-18. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2020-02-10/folly-retrenchment

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[9]: A State on Steroids? American Imperium

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