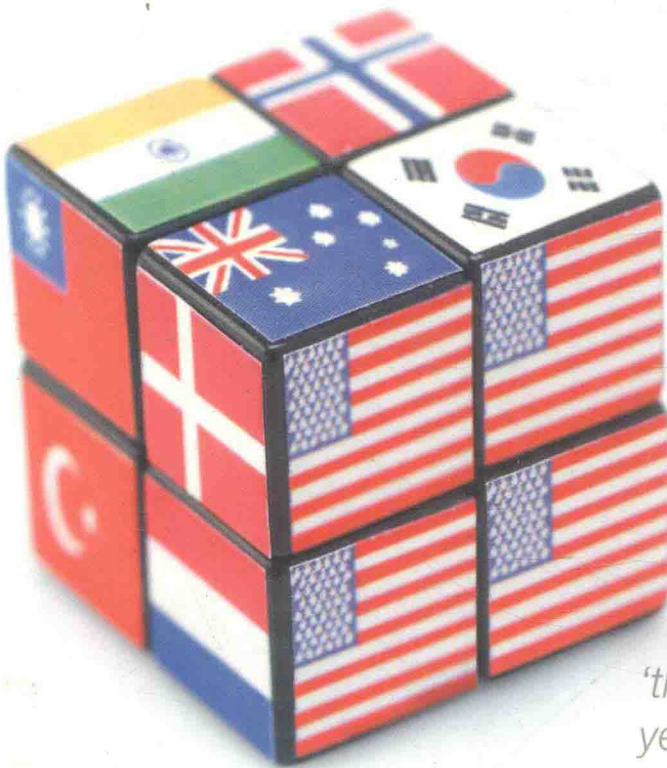


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# US FOREIGN POLICY

SECOND EDITION



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years to come...'*



Michael Cox & Doug Stokes

# US Foreign Policy

*Second edition*

*Edited by*

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Professor of International Relations  
London School of Economics and Political Science  
London

**Doug Stokes**

Senior Lecturer in International Relations  
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Published in the United States  
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data  
Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data  
Data available

Typeset by TNQ Books and Journals Pvt. Ltd.  
Printed in Great Britain  
on acid-free paper by  
Ashford Colour Press Ltd, Gosport, Hampshire

ISBN 978-0-19-958581-6

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

# Acknowledgements

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Individually, we would wish to express a debt of gratitude to Fiona, Stephen, Rebecca, Erica, and Lucas Du Rietz for their love and support throughout the completion of this project. We would also like to say a special thank you to all our students, both past and present. Their contributions to this project have been invaluable. We hope this new and updated volume will continue to provide the next generation with the necessary conceptual tools for understanding US foreign policy as we move further into the twenty-first century.

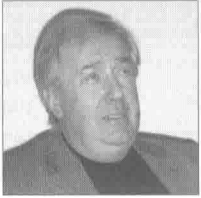
## New to this edition

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- Includes two new chapters—an assessment of Barack Obama’s use of smart power by Joseph Nye, and a debate about whether the US is in a state of decline by William Wohlforth, Stephen Brooks, and Christopher Layne.
- All chapters have been updated with important developments affecting US foreign policy, including the global financial crisis, the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan, and political uprisings in the Middle East.
- Existing chapters have been revised to include more on the practicalities of how foreign policy is made, the relationship between the US and China, and the role played by lobbying and interest groups.
- Maps of the key regions are now included in the text.

## About the editors

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**Michael Cox** lectures at London School of Economics and Political Science. The author of more than 20 volumes—the most recent (in 2010) being *Soft power and US foreign policy* and *The global 1989: continuity and change in world politics*—he has, over a distinguished career, served on the executive committee of the British International Studies Association, the Irish National Committee for the Study of International Affairs, and the United States Discussion Group at Chatham House, London. Between 2006 and 2009 he was chair of the European Consortium for Political Research, and in 2011 was reappointed for the third time as Research Fellow at the Nobel Institute in Oslo. He is currently co-director of IDEAS, a centre of strategy and diplomacy based at the LSE, and editor of the journal *International Politics*.



**Doug Stokes** is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Kent, Canterbury. His latest book, *Global Energy Security and American Hegemony* (Johns Hopkins, 2010) examines US oil interventions outside of the Middle East. He is currently working on a new book on US grand strategy options in the face of hegemonic transition. He is the editor of the journal *Global Society*.

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---

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**Robert G. Patman** is a Professor of International Relations at the University of Otago and Director of the postgraduate international studies programme. He is the author or editor of nine books. He is also co-editor for the Praeger Series on *The Ethics of American Foreign Policy*, and an editor for the journal *International Studies Perspectives*. His latest book, a single-authored volume entitled *Strategic Shortfall: The 'Somalia Syndrome' and the March to 9/11* (Praeger), was published in the US in 2010. He is a Fulbright Senior Scholar, a Senior Fellow at the Centre of Strategic Studies, Wellington, and provides regular contributions to the national and international media on global issues and events. His website is [www.robertpatman.co.nz](http://www.robertpatman.co.nz).

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visual culture and of science fiction, including on the popular TV show 'Firefly' and film 'Serenity'. Her current research project investigates the relationships between US military practices and popular cultural texts and technologies, with a particular focus on soldiers' and veterans' own understandings of these relationships. Her research interests include the Vietnam War and post-Vietnam US foreign policy, feminist and gender theory, militarization, and popular and visual culture.

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**William C. Wohlforth** is the Daniel Webster Professor at Dartmouth College, where he teaches in the Department of Government. His most recent books are *International Relations Theory and the Consequences of Unipolarity* (2011, co-edited, with G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno) and *World Out of Balance: International Relations Theory and the Challenge of American Primacy* (2008, co-authored with Stephen Brooks).



# Guided tour of textbook features

This book is enriched with a number of learning tools to help you navigate the text and reinforce your knowledge of US foreign policy. This guided tour shows you how to get the most out of your textbook package.

## Key quotes boxes

Each chapter contains boxes of key quotes that you can use to gain a wider perspective on the issues being discussed.

### KEY QUOTES 2.1: The origins of American exceptionalism

The United States, almost from its start, has had an expanding economic system. The nineteenth-century American economy, as compared to European ones, was characterized by more market freedom, more individual landownership, and a higher wage income structure—all sustained by the national classical liberal ideology. From the Revolution on, it was a laissez-faire country par excellence.

(Lipset 1996: 54)

Hence there was a strong family likeness between all the English colonies as they came to birth. All, from the beginning, seemed destined to let freedom grow, not the aristocratic freedom of their motherland, but a middle-class and democratic freedom of which the world's history had not previously provided a complete example.

(Tocqueville 1988: 34)

I have already said that the American system in its true nature is continually being re-created, and is perfectly distinct from anything that has ever been at war with the spirit of freedom. It is somehow possible to have a marvelous combination of the spirit of freedom and the spirit of freedom.

There is therefore some hidden truth in the general prospect, whereas in times a secret bias leads men to see

## Major debates and their impact boxes

Throughout the book boxes detailing some of the ongoing major debates are provided to show you the most up-to-date state of academic thought in the area.

### MAJOR DEBATES AND THEIR IMPACT 1.1: US policies towards

#### The 'Mars/Venus' debate of the early 2000s

The controversies centring around US and EU responses to the war on terror and the war in Iraq during 2002–4 generated debate not only in policy circles but also in academic analysis. One of the key figures in this debate was the American policy analyst Robert Kagan, who in 2003 published his book *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*. Kagan's argument was that there was a deep difference over the interpretation and the uses of power between the United States and Europe, and that this reflected long historical experience as well as current events. To put it simply, the United States had evolved with a strong orientation towards the use of 'hard' military power and a strong position both on sovereignty and national security, as the result of its geopolitical location, its

means of implementation—best represented by the EU—had been and the building of national problems. and cultural expansion of force in Europe. ruling elites that subjected to rigidly effectively reflect or individual European the USA in military this rationalization was of course, a sweeping view how much can it

## Controversies boxes

In each chapter, controversies boxes look at an aspect of foreign policy from a different angle to highlight the complexities of subjectivism in the area.

**CONTROVERSIES 14.1: Debates in US-Russian relations**

<b>Building market democracy in Russia</b> Yes: Russia had a good chance of becoming a stable market economy with democratic political institutions, and the United States had a responsibility to do all it could to bring that about. No: American interference in Russia's domestic politics and economics was bound to fail and cause a negative reaction from Russian elites. <b>NATO enlargement</b>	<b>Relations with Putin</b> Yes: Russia is a great power in Eurasia, its sea and its role as an ally of the US are a good working relationship. No: Putin is a dictator and only bring instability to the region. <b>Relations with the EU</b>
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## Key points

Where necessary, key points boxes appear to give a brief synopsis of the material covered in order to help you consolidate your studies.

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**KEY POINTS**

- Naturalized power relations can and should be denaturalized.
- Claiming that the world is socially constructed does not mean it is false or that the world does not exist.
- The social construction of reality means that although the world exists independently of our knowledge of it, we cannot access this knowledge except through discourse(s).
- Critiquing discourses is not about political correctness.

## Questions

A set of carefully devised questions has been provided to help you assess your comprehension of core themes, and may also be used as the basis of seminar discussion and coursework.

**?** **Questions**

1. What motivated US support for the early stage of European integration?
2. What is the importance of John F. Kennedy's 1962 speech on Atlantic partnership?
3. Why were US-EC relations especially difficult in the early 1970s?
4. Why did the 1970s see a new pattern of interaction between political, economic and cultural relations?
5. What was the impact of the 'new cold war' during the early 1980s on US-EC relations?
6. What events in the late 1980s created concern in the USA about the future of the EC?
7. What role did US policy makers envisage for the EC at the end of the Cold War?

## Further reading

To take your learning further, reading lists have been provided as a guide to find out more about the issues raised within each chapter topic and to help you locate the key academic literature in the field.

**»** **Further Reading**

Bacevich, A. J. (2004), *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of US Global Power* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press).

Cohen, W. I. (2010), *America's Response to China: A History of Sino-American Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Holmes, S. (2007), *The Matador's Cape: America's Reckless Response to Terror* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Hunt, M. H. (1987), *Ideology and US Foreign Policy* (Yale University Press, New Haven).

Ikenberry, J. G. (2004), *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays* (Longman, Harlow).

# Guided tour of the Online Resource Centre

*US Foreign Policy* is also accompanied by an Online Resource Centre that provides students and lecturers with ready-to-use teaching and learning resources. They are free of charge and are designed to maximize the learning experience.

[www.oxfordtextbooks.co.uk/orc/cox\\_stokes2e/](http://www.oxfordtextbooks.co.uk/orc/cox_stokes2e/)

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Search Online Resource Centres

Cox & Stokes: US Foreign Policy 2e

Student resources

- Interactive map  
Containing details of US foreign policy toward a selection of countries and regions
- Multiple choice questions  
Reinforce your understanding of themes with these self-marking questions and receive immediate feedback.
- Timeline  
Containing key dates in the history of US foreign policy
- Web links  
Provided to point you in the direction of important organizations, documents, lectures and other relevant sources of information.

Lecturer resources

The following resources are password-protected and for adopting lecturers' use only.

Not yet registered for a password? Please complete the two steps below:

1. Inform your local sales representative that you are adopting this textbook. You may need to do this via the [USC A&S representative page](#).
2. Complete the [registration form](#). Please note your registration can only be processed if your sales representative is aware of your adoption.

Already registered for a password? Click on any resource below to log in.

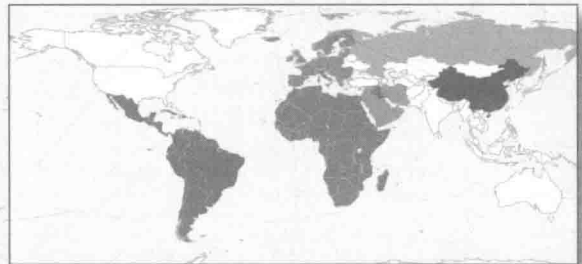
- Interactive map  
A suite of questions drawing on themes in each chapter of the text
- Multiple choice questions  
A suite of activities to assist in planning seminars

## For students

Accessible to all, with no registration or password required, enabling you to get the most from your textbook.

### Interactive map

An interactive map containing details of US foreign policy towards a variety of countries and regions provides a visual aid when considering the geographical implications of policy.



### Historical timeline

A timeline of the history of US foreign policy gives you a snapshot view of key events, allowing you to put them in geographical and historical context.

speech is thus often seen as a pivotal moment in the onset of what would come to be known as the Cold War, and in shaping US attitudes toward the Soviet Union.

#### 1946: June 14<sup>th</sup>, Baruch Plan Proposed

The hardening relations and increasing mistrust between the US and the Soviet Union was further exemplified in the proposal and rejection of the Baruch plan of 1946. Hiroshima and Nagasaki had illustrated the catastrophic power of nuclear weapons. Bernard Baruch, the American delegate to the UN Atomic Energy Commission, proposed a plan to oversee the eventual abolition of nuclear weapons under the auspices of an International Atomic Development Authority and promote the global use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes instead. However, the plan was rejected by the Soviets, who regarded it as a ploy intended to maintain a US monopoly on nuclear weapons, and refused to tolerate inspections on Soviet soil.

#### 1947: March 12<sup>th</sup>, The Truman Doctrine

On March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1947, President Truman urged the US Congress to "support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugations by armed minorities or by outside pressures". The ostensible motive of this appeal was provision of aid to Greece and Turkey which, it

## Multiple-choice questions

Multiple-choice questions test and reinforce your understanding of the themes. They are self-marking and allow you to receive immediate feedback on your performance as an aid to direct your studies.

## Web links

A comprehensive list of annotated links points you in the direction of important organizations, documents, lectures, and other relevant sources of information.

## For lecturers

Password protected to ensure only lecturers can access these resources, each registration is personally checked to ensure the security of the site.

Registering is easy: click on 'Lecturer Resources' on the Online Resource Centre, complete a simple registration form which allows you to choose your own username and password, and access will be granted within three working days (subject to verification).

## Essay questions and class activities

A suite of questions drawing on themes in each chapter of the text provides an excellent basis for assessing students' understanding of the key points.

## Seminar questions and activities

A collection of activities to assist in planning seminars.

### Question 1

How do Ideational approaches to US foreign policy during the Cold War differ from Realist accounts of the same period?

- a) They place greater emphasis on economic factors
- b) They place greater emphasis on material interests and power
- c) They place greater emphasis on ideology and beliefs
- d) They place greater emphasis on geopolitics

### Question 2

What features distinguish Socio-Economic accounts of US Cold War foreign policy?

- a) A focus on class and economic interests

[www.brookings.edu/cuse.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/cuse.aspx)

The website for the Brookings Institution's project on the US and Europe. Has a wide range of analytical pieces, working papers etc.

[www.eurunion.org/](http://www.eurunion.org/)

This is the website of the European Commission Delegation in Washington DC. It contains a wide range of relevant economic and political information, and has links to a large number of other sites dealing with US-EU relations.

[www.iie.org/](http://www.iie.org/)

Website of the institution for International Economics in Washington DC, which has a mass of information and publications dealing with the political economy of US-EU relations among many other issues.

## Chapter 10

1. Does identity matter in the study of US foreign policy?
2. How does a 'Critical Constructivist Approach' differ from other approaches to US foreign policy?
3. Does the US need an enemy? Answer in relation to the role of identity in US foreign policy.
4. How did the Cold War shape US national identity?

## Chapter 16

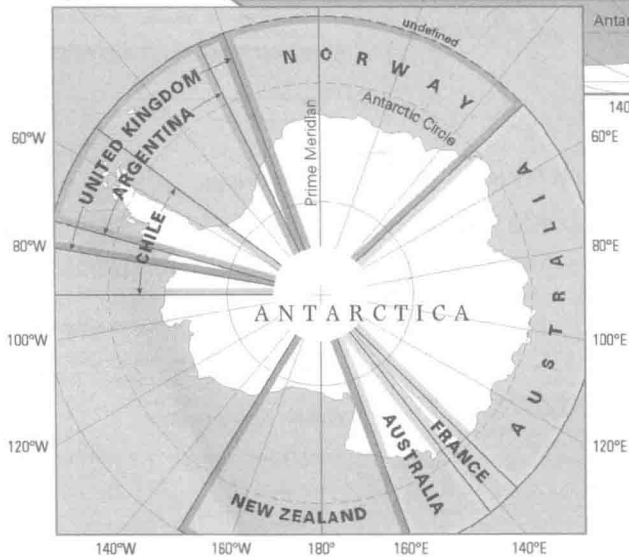
### Class Activities

1. Classroom Debate: 'US policy toward Africa has in general been marked by indifference and neglect.' Discuss.
2. Classroom Debate: Why did the US intervene in Somalia but not in Rwanda during the 1990s?
3. Classroom Debate: 'Africa is the soft underbelly for global terrorism'. Discuss.
4. Presentation: What are the goals of the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) initiative and how realistic are they?

### Weekly Assignments

Assess US policy towards one of the following African states during the Cold War:

1. Angola
2. South Africa



— international boundary  
- - - - - disputed boundary

AR	ARMENIA
AZ	AZERBAIJAN
BANG	BANGLADESH
BE	BENIN
BR	BRUNEI
BU	BURKINA
BUR	BURUNDI
CAR	CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

20°E 40°E 60°E 80°E 100°E 120°E 140°E 160°E 180°



R C T I C A  
20°E 40°E 60°E 80°E 100°E 120°E 140°E

G	THE GAMBIA
G-B	GUINEA-BISSAU
IS	ISRAEL
L	LEBANON
Q	QATAR
R	RWANDA
T	TAJIKISTAN
TU	TURKMENISTAN
U	UGANDA
UAE	UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
ZIM	ZIMBABWE



20°E



**PACIFIC  
OCEAN**





MA.	MASSACHUSETTS
MD.	MARYLAND
MS.	MISSISSIPPI
N.H.	NEW HAMPSHIRE
VT.	VERMONT



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