



# **American internationalism based on American interests**

## **A Critical Review of Foreign Affairs**

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*“Public opinion must be led along the right path... That is the job of a few men in real contact with the facts.”*

The unfortunate British Lionel Curtis, who would not become a member of the soon to be founded Council on Foreign Relations, Paris, 1919.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Robert D. Schulzinger, *The Wise Men of Foreign Affairs. The History of the Council on Foreign Relations* (New York 1984) 4.



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## Introduction

The following analysis of *Foreign Affairs*, an American academic journal which claims to be the ‘leading forum for serious discussion of American foreign policy and international affairs’, will show that the journal above all asserts the claim that the U.S. are indeed a world power.<sup>2</sup> An analysis of the journal *Foreign Affairs* will give a valuable insight into the modern worldviews of the chief foreign policy makers within the U.S.

In the introduction both the history of *Foreign Affairs* and the Council on Foreign Relations will be briefly dealt with. Following this a general introduction of the journal will be given, offering the reader insight into the contents and varieties in which the journal appears. The introduction is ended by an explanation of the quantitative method that was used to analyze the journal. This essay itself will then continue with the quantitative analysis of the essay articles that have appeared in *Foreign Affairs* in the years 2007-2011. The first part of the essay deals with the major subjects that were debated upon in the journal, while the second part offers a deeper look into the backgrounds of the authors.

The Council on Foreign Relations is a non-profit organization which aims to improve understanding of U.S. foreign policy. It came forth out of the group of influential advisors The Inquiry which was founded by President Woodrow Wilson’s influential advisor Edward M. House. The hundred or so advisors were meant to aid the president in making a postwar plan for the future of Europe and they were Foreign Service officers, financial experts from the Treasury Department, and military strategists for the army and navy. Although the men of The Inquiry accompanied Wilson to the Paris Peace conference in 1919, Wilson himself paid the advisors no heed once he was in Europe. In that progress of alienation British and American advisors found out they had more in common with each other than with their politicians and set out to start a new, jointly American and British, expert group on international relations. However, Anti-British sentiments back in the U.S., following the critique of Wilson as a supporter of an imperialistic Britain, prevented the realization of a joined research institution. The disheartened Inquiry-members soon found new allies in Elihu Root, Theodore Roosevelt’s secretary of state, and his regularly meeting dinner club of New York based bankers and lawyers, which was called the Council on Foreign Relations. Both

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<sup>2</sup> ‘the leading forum for serious discussion of American foreign policy and international affairs.’  
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/about-us> (accessed 3-04-2011).

groups joined and founded the Council on Foreign Relations on July 21, 1921.<sup>3</sup> *Foreign Affairs* was founded on September 15, 1922 as the official journal of the Council on Foreign Relations. The journal still upholds the same editorial vision expressed by editor Archibald Carey Coolidge in the first edition of the journal. The most striking of his sentences: ‘Its articles will not represent any consensus of beliefs. What is demanded of them is that they be competent and well informed, representing honest opinions seriously held and convincingly expressed.’<sup>4</sup>

The journal consists out of five sections. Comments, which open the journal, are 2.000-3.000 words and must make a ‘single, provocative point.’ Essays are 4.000-5.000 words and form the basis of the journal, with generally 10-16 essays per journal. Review Essays (generally 2-3 per journal) are 2.000-3.000 words and discuss new publications. The presence of the last two categories, Responses (1.000-1.500 words) and Letters to the Editor (500 words) varies, with usually three or more Responses and several letters per episode. Three more categories are available that are published on the website. Here authors can give a firsthand report, a follow up on their own research, or offer an analysis of current events. In principle everyone is invited to submit their manuscript, although the editor does ask that the submission should be akin to the essays in the journal itself. There is no fixed editorial calendar and submissions are judged on a day by day basis.<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that apart from the regular issues, which feature mainly the above, there are also sponsored versions which offer a broad scale of smaller articles, typically not longer than one page, on the sponsoring country. These also offer a larger article by a prominent government member of the sponsoring country. For instance issue 86:6 (2007) was sponsored by Kazakhstan and issue 87:2 (2008) was sponsored by Portugal and the Philippines.<sup>6</sup>

*Foreign Affairs*<sup>7</sup> subscription and newsstand sales have steadily progressed upwards from 2002 onward. Subscription went up from 121.102 to 160.150 in 2008. The most recent report gives 154.318 subscriptions in the first half of 2010.<sup>7</sup> On the ISI Web of Knowledge Journal Citation reports *Foreign Affairs* ranked two out of 59, based on its impact factor, in

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<sup>3</sup> Robert D. Schulzinger, *The Wise Men of Foreign Affairs. The History of the Council on Foreign Relations* (New York 1984) 2-6; Peter Grose, *Continuing the Inquiry. The Council on Foreign Relations from 1921 to 1996* (New York 2006) 5-7.

<sup>4</sup> Schulzinger, *The Wise Men of Foreign Affairs*, 10.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/about-us/submissions> (accessed 3-04-2011).

<sup>6</sup> *Foreign Affairs* 86:6 (2007); *Foreign Affairs* 87:2 (2008).

<sup>7</sup> Circulation Trends Graph

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/files/attachments/Circulation%20Trends.pdf> (accessed 3-04-2011).

ABC Statement

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/files/attachments/First%20Half%202010%20Statement.pdf> (accessed 3-04-2011).



2009.<sup>8</sup> *The* journal is preeminent among journals covering foreign affairs, as is evident in the many CEO’s of companies, politicians and nongovernmental organizations that publish in *Foreign Affairs*. For instance, in 2010 Eric Schmidt, CEO of Google, published on the growth of telecommunication. In 2007 *Foreign Affairs* paid specific attention to the presidential election and all prominent presidential candidates published articles that dealt with their vision on how the next American president should shape foreign policy.<sup>9</sup>

In total 26 volumes of *Foreign Affairs* were analyzed, 6 volumes for 2007, 2008, 2009 and 2010 respectively, and two volumes for 2011. The analysis is based on the 296 essays that have appeared, which were written by 349, not always different, authors.<sup>10</sup> The journal was first analyzed on a quantitative basis. The first step in doing this was dissecting the individual essays into 5 distinct categories. These were then filed into excel sheets. Of each essay the author(s), title, subject, key subject and background of the author(s) was noted. In the case of multiple authors additional categories were made (background author 1, background author 2, etc.,). An example of the first stage of such an analysis is shown below:

Author	Title	Subject	Key subject	background
Bremmer, Ian	Democracy in Cyberspace	political use of internet	Cyberspace	President, Eurasia Group <sup>11</sup>

The categories author, title and background are not subjective and easily verifiable. The categories of subject and key subject are in danger of subjectivism of the author of this essay. On the basis of the excerpts of the essays, and when the excerpts were unclear, on basis of the essays themselves, the categories subject and key subject were filled in. The category subject was used to identify the subjects of the article itself, while the key subject revealed the larger theme in which the essay should be placed. The second step of the analysis was tallying the different key subjects and backgrounds of the authors. In this tallying the key subjects were identified for each published year and totaled up to calculate which percentage of the 269 articles dealt with this issue in particular.

Key subject	90	89	88	87	86	Total	% of 269
Cyberspace/Cyber warfare	3	2			5	0,185873606	

<sup>8</sup> ISI Web of Knowledge Journal Citation Reports, *Foreign Affairs* (accessed 5-04-2001).

<sup>9</sup> Among others were: Schmidt, Eric, Jared Cohen, ‘The Digital Disruption’, *Foreign Affairs* 89:6 (2010) 75-85; Hillary Rodham Clinton, ‘Security and Opportunity for the Twenty-first Century’, *Foreign Affairs* 86:6 (2007) 2-18; John McCain, ‘An Enduring Peace Built on Freedom.’, *Foreign Affairs* 86:6 (2007) 19-34.

<sup>10</sup> Appendix I, the 349 authors represents the grand total of individual contributions. Authors that have contributed repeatedly are tallied repeatedly.

<sup>11</sup> Appendix II, analysis of *Foreign Affairs* 89-6, essay 10.



Above in volumes 90, 87 and 86 there were no specific articles in which the main issue, the key subject, Cyberspace and/or Cyber warfare were identified. That is not to say that no articles mentioned it, but rather it was not the main focus of any other article. As already noted, the selection of key subjects is subjective. For example, when confronted with an article dealing with Putin, the U.S. foreign relations with Russia and Putin’s increasing authoritarianism, one is left with at least three possible key subjects (Putin, Russia, Authoritarianism). In said case all three were identified as key subjects and indexed separately. An article can then provide several key subjects, but it can, logically, never supply the same key subject more than once.

Tallying the backgrounds of the authors proved to be more complicated. Authors that have contributed repeatedly have not been singled out. The aim of the background research is to ascertain from which research institutes the authors that contribute mainly come, therefore it served no purpose to eliminate authors that contributed repeatedly, for it would still count as an article coming from the same research facility. The backgrounds of the authors were analyzed which led to 102 distinct backgrounds that were discernible. Of these separate departments of research institutes were joined together, such as the Brookings Institution. In the example case above of Ian Bremmer’s *Democracy in Cyberspace* an entry looks like this:

Background contributors	90	89	88	87	86	Total mentions	Geography
Eurasia Group	1	1	1			3	US
<b>Geography</b>	<b>Role</b>		<b>% of 349</b>	<b>% of 269</b>			
U.S.	Consultancy		0,859598854	1,1152416			

Of the 102 possible backgrounds only 15 come out above 1 percent. Those fifteen backgrounds have been selected to delve further into in this article. In the following pages the major themes of *Foreign Affairs* from 2007-2011 will first be identified, followed by an examination of the main contributors.

## 1. Analyzing the themes

The final analysis gave 100 key subjects that have appeared in *Foreign Affairs*. Those subjects were compared with each other, resulting in a large stat from which a smaller one, featured in the appendixes, has been derived.<sup>12</sup> For the analysis on these pages please use Appendix IV, which features a stat showing the total that each of the selected key subjects was linked to an article, and the total per year of the analysis. These 19 subjects were the ones that scored higher than two percent, measured against the grand total of analyzed articles (296). The subjects that scored less than two percent, were mentioned less than 6 times in the 2007-2011 timeframe, and have therefore not been taken into account any further.<sup>13</sup> The general reader will note that there are no eye-catchers, apart from the two large anomalies China and Russia, that spring into sight. Notice that, apart from the categories ‘Presidential candidates’, ‘globalization’ and ‘relations with the EU’ all other categories are, in one way or the other, able to be identified as a threat to the U.S. The category ‘Japan’ mostly shows concern and historical interest in an ally.<sup>14</sup>

Many of the key subjects are linked to each other, and some, if not most, will have articles in common. One category, ‘presidential candidate’, was used to identify those articles that were contributed by presidential candidates in lieu of their election campaign. As full articles they were also given key subjects, but apart from that they also received their own category. As such it is clear that *Foreign Affairs* stays focused on contemporary politics, and that presidential candidates, or at least their campaign managers, see the value of being published in the journal.<sup>15</sup> Of course, in the case of said candidates they are each qualified on their own to appear in the journal as a scholar.

The subjects Afghanistan and Iraq are tightly linked to each other and in the way authors approach them. In both cases authors offer suggestions for either an exit strategy, an alteration in strategy, or a defense of the current strategy. In *Foreign Affairs* it is not uncommon at all for the opponents to be positioned next to each other. For example, in the debate over Afghanistan Robert D. Blackwill, Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations with his ‘Plan B in Aghanistan’ is placed against Paul. D. Miller, Senior Fellow at

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<sup>12</sup> Appendix III, Graph showing the key subjects (themes) that were selected for further analysis.

<sup>13</sup> Appendix IV, total of key subjects.

<sup>14</sup> Jennifer Lind, ‘The Perils of Apology’, *Foreign Affairs* 88:3 (2009) 132-146.

<sup>15</sup> If the candidates were asked by the journal to write an article it is telling that all prominent candidates did.



the National Defense University with his ‘Finish the Job.’<sup>16</sup> It is showing for all such debates that the journal publishes opponents and proponents and does not shy away from the debate.

### 1.1 The threat of China and Russia

The key subjects remain tightly linked. The rise of China as a world power, its asserting of influence and dominance, and its awaking to its own potential are, in the minds of most authors, either troubling or a continued justification of the role of the U.S. as a world power. It is deeply connected with the subject Asia, of which a number of articles specifically focus on the South Chinese Sea, and the possible conflict over dominance that several parties in that area could be drawn into. That includes Japan and Russia, both also key subjects. A solution might be found in Charles A. Kupchan’s, Professor of International Affairs at Georgetown University and Senior Fellow on the Council on Foreign Relations, ‘unbalanced triangle’ of three world powers, those being China, Russia and the U.S. Then again, perhaps the U.S. would do well to adhere to the advice of Stephen Kotkin, Professor of History and International Affairs, Princeton University, who stipulates that the U.S. would do well to recognize other viable alternatives apart from liberal democracy, of which authoritarianism might be one.<sup>17</sup> The subject of China receives most attention during the years 2007-2011, every year scoring well above the average of other subjects. Indeed, it is a subject that Henry M. Paulson, then U.S. Secretary of State, is also drawn into in 2008, in which he offers advice to the next American President on how to deal with China, which should be accepted as a world power and a potentially powerful ally, in the economic sense.<sup>18</sup> China is also subject of one of the rare addresses by the editor, when James F. Hoge does a prediction at the end of 2010 concerning the rise of China, and the rise of terrorism in weak states.<sup>19</sup>

Russia was mentioned above a couple of times, for some of the authors see a new trend in which countries favor authoritarianism rather than democracy. In that aspect China and Russia have been linked together by the authors several times. Russia is as contested as China. It is either an emerging political ally, with the potential to balance against China, or it is a potential enemy whose reappearance in geopolitics after the fall of communism is seen

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<sup>16</sup> Robert D. Blackwill, ‘Plan B in Afghanistan’, *Foreign Affairs* 90:1 (2011) 42-50; Paul D. Miller, ‘Finish the Job’, *Foreign Affairs* 90:1 (2011) 51-65.

<sup>17</sup> Charles A. Kupchan, ‘Minor League, Major Problems’ *Foreign Affairs* 87:6 (2008) 96-109; Stephen Kotkin, ‘The Unbalanced Triangle’, *Foreign Affairs* 88:5 (2009) 130-138.

<sup>18</sup> Henry M. Paulson, ‘A Strategic Economic Engagement’, *Foreign Affairs* 87:5 (2008) 59-77.

<sup>19</sup> James F. Hoge, ‘The World Ahead’ *Foreign Affairs* 89:6 (2010) i-ii.

with suspicion. Not all contributors are scared by Russia's reemergence though. The aforementioned Kupchan, in line of his 'unbalanced triangle' is one of the chief supporters of partnership between the U.S. and Russia. Indeed, even between Russia and the West, because for him it is time for Russia to enter the NATO.<sup>20</sup> Others are worried by the Russian population's acceptance of the autocratic regimes of first Putin and later Medvedev, and the way the regimes treat the ethnic minorities in Russia.<sup>21</sup> The autocratic Russia as a NATO member is not welcomed by the Human Rights Watch, nor by the Carnegie Foundation, both also contributors to *Foreign Affairs*. Only when Russia becomes a stable democracy can NATO membership become an option.<sup>22</sup> Another interesting factor is that when one examines the stats in Appendix III one clearly sees that the authors' interest in Russia was lit on during 2008. It is interesting to delve slightly deeper in the cause for this peek in the following paragraph.

The ambivalence of the journal has been pointed out before. In the case of Russia is it easily demonstrable by comparing two quite different articles that were published in the last issue of 2008. Both articles are a reaction to the South Ossetian War and Russia's role in it. Both articles are also fully written from the perspective of the U.S. and pose questions as to how the U.S. should have reacted, how it should in the future react, and, above all, how it should deal with a Russia that clearly does not shy away from acting outside what, according to the U.S., should be its borders. To Charles King, Professor at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, the danger lies in a Russia no longer willing to adhere to international institutions and, indeed, perhaps even one that will shape its own international institutions without any care to the existing ones. Although King, member of a school of diplomats after all, is especially irritated at the fact that the Russian policy makers were not even 'bothering to seek international support and then making no apologies for its unilateral attack on Georgia' his main criticism is that Russia did not even develop 'a public relations strategy'. He envies Georgia, whose president appeared live on CNN and 'hit every major talking point meaningful to Western audiences, including claims of ethnic cleansing and genocide'.<sup>23</sup> The article is in sharp contrast to that of Stephen Sestanovich, Professor of International Diplomacy at Columbia University. Sestanovich worries about Russia's

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<sup>20</sup> Charles A. Kupchan, 'NATO's Final Frontier', *Foreign Affairs* 89:3 (2010) 100-112.

<sup>21</sup> Charles King, Rajan Menon, 'Prisoners of the Caucasus.' *Foreign Affairs* 89:4 (2010) 20-34.

<sup>22</sup> Leonid Gozman, Michael McFaul, 'Why a Democratic Russia Should Join NATO' <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=18532> (accessed 28-03-2011).

<sup>23</sup> Charles King, 'The Five-Day War' *Foreign Affairs* 87:6 (2008) 2-11.

assertion of power, which he believes may partly be because of the U.S. interference, as in the eye of Russia, of the U.S. with the newly independent countries surrounding its borders. He believes that the U.S. might need to radically alter its foreign policy towards Russia because ‘Russia's power may actually keep growing, and carry the country's ambitions with it.’<sup>24</sup>

## 1.2 The Axis of Evil

Terrorism is a broad topic, which, although mostly used in combination with subjects such as Afghanistan, Iraq and North Korea, is also treated as standing on its own. The fact that international terrorists, by their very name, function internationally, and transcend borders, has one author worrying about transcending borders in combination with the aim of nonproliferation.<sup>25</sup> Criticism on the war on terror is given in the journal, not only by the authors, but also, for example, in *Foreign Affairs* 86:1, sponsored by Singapore, which opens with extracts of a speech by former prime minister Lee Kuan Yew, condemning the U.S. policy after invading Iraq and its ‘you are either with us or against us’ policy, while at the same time appealing to shared sentiments and memories by bringing back the Vietnam war, in which he links the U.S. underestimating one of its opponents.<sup>26</sup> One of the outstanding articles concerning the topic of terrorism is that of Jessica Stern, Lecturer on Law at the Harvard Law School, who offers an alternative to the traditional way of dealing with terrorists. In her article several successful ways in which Arabian and European countries de-radicalize terrorists are discussed.<sup>27</sup>

North Korea stands on an interesting junction. Apart from it being in Asia, where some of the authors heavily emphasize the coming conflict with China, it stands as a subject on its own, one of the traditional enemies of the U.S., and also falls under the nonproliferation category. On what to do with North Korea the authors strongly disagree. A selection of a number of the articles shows, just like with Afghanistan and Iraq, the call for a continuation of the current policy. One other in particular shows how economic sanctions are indeed working on Korea. Andrei Lankov, Associate Professor of History, Kookmin University, on the other hand maintains that borders should be opened between the U.S. and Korea thus far that students can be interchanged. Brining North Korea in contact with the free and western

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<sup>24</sup> Stephen Sestanovich, ‘What Has Moscow Done?’ *Foreign Affairs* 87:6 (2008) 12-28.

<sup>25</sup> Chertoff, Michael, ‘The Responsibility to Contain: Protecting Sovereignty Under International Law’ *Foreign Affairs* 88:1 (2009) 130-147.

<sup>26</sup> Yew, Lee Kuan, ‘The United States, Iraq, and the War on Terror’ *Foreign Affairs* 86:1 (2007) 2-7.

<sup>27</sup> Jessica Stern, ‘Mind Over Martyr’ *Foreign Affairs* 89:1 (2010) 95-108.

minded students would certainly ease, if not hasten, Korea's transformation into a democracy. Charles A. Kupchan, just as he earlier cautioned the new American President to cultivate contacts with China and Russia and make partners out of them, returns with an evaluation of President Obama's foreign policy thus far, and concludes that Obama is on the right way of maintaining relations between China, Russia and North Korea. Ominously the debate has, for now, ended with a contribution by former U.S. ambassador to the International Atomic Energy Agency Gregory L. Schulte who warns that countries should rather focus on containing the spread of nuclear technology, than focusing on berating the countries who are trying to obtain the technology as if they already had it.<sup>28</sup>

### 1.3 Nonproliferation

Nonproliferation itself is one of the major key subjects with 11 mentions. It peaked starting 2009, during the first term of Obama who had made nonproliferation one of his main geopolitical subjects. The discussion in *Foreign Affairs* closely follows the new President and his program, offering advice, where applicable, and to rebut where needed. The community of IR scholars must have regarded young President's aim warily, for one of the first articles in 2009 seems positive of Obama's initiative, yet postulates that it must be the U.S. which takes the leading role in nonproliferation and thus 'reshaping the World order'.<sup>29</sup> Still others warn that historically nuclear warfare has been vastly overestimated and that, though proliferation is a noble goal, one should not overestimate the danger again. During the year a close watch is kept on Obama's policy which continues to be critically examined. The U.S. lead Proliferation Security Initiative, of which a part is aimed in preventing the transfer of weapons of mass destruction internationally, is also held to the light.<sup>30</sup> Still, the positive freshness with which Obama's new policy was met was interrupted at the end of the year when Keir A. Lieber, Associate Professor in the Security Studies Program at Georgetown University, published his 'The Nukes We Need.', focusing on strongly on nuclear deterrence and aiming to show the government policy makes that it had been nuclear deterrence by the U.S. that had prevented the mushroom cloud from occurring. Above all the U.S. should take its

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<sup>28</sup> Rachel L. Loeffler, 'Bank Shots.', *Foreign Affairs* 88:2 (2009) 101-110; Andrei Lankov, , 'Changing North Korea', *Foreign Affairs* 88:6 (2009) 95-105; Charles A. Kupchan, 'Enemies Into Friends', *Foreign Affairs* 89:2 (2010) 120-134; Gregory L. Schulte, 'Stopping Proliferation Before It Starts', *Foreign Affairs* 89:4 (2010) 85-95.

<sup>29</sup> Stephen G. Brooks, William C. Wohlforth, 'Reshaping the World Order' *Foreign Affairs*, 88:2 (2009) 49-63.

<sup>30</sup> Michael Krepon, 'The Mushroom Cloud That Wasn't', *Foreign Affairs* 88:3 (2009) 2-6; Amitai Etzioni, 'Tomorrow's Institution Today', *Foreign Affairs* 88:3 (2009) 7-11.

responsibility of international peacekeeper serious, coupled with that comes the insight that the U.S. needs to realize that while the wars it fights out overseas are limited wars in the U.S. perspective, they are existential for their foes. That means the opponents will use nuclear weapons if available, and it means that the U.S. will need to keep its own arsenal of nuclear weapons to deter the opponents from using, or obtaining them.<sup>31</sup>

#### 1.4 The Arab-Israeli conflict

The Arab-Israeli conflict is also one of the major subjects in the journal, although it must clearly leave China and Russia well ahead. When analyzing the stat it seems safe to assume that in the running year of 2011 at least one more, perhaps even more, article(s) will be published, so it will remain constant with at the very least 4 major subject mentions per year. Articles within the journal concerning Israel naturally focus on devising a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. On the other hand a number of the authors clearly struggle with Israel as a hard to live with ally, but an ally nevertheless. There is however a clear discernible trend starting from 2009 onwards. Opening the second issue of 2009 is an article which devises an unique authority that would govern Jerusalem both in the names of Israel and Palestine at the same time. In that way neither country would have to forego its claims on the city. This Old City Special Regime (OCSR) would govern with the aid and support of a number of foreign partners, that would have to be trusted by both side. Such ‘a peace agreement would bring recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of both Israel and the new Palestinian state: embassies would relocate there, new institutions would appear, and tourism would surge.’<sup>32</sup>

The claim above shows the tension of the essays from 2009 onwards to favor a solution that satisfies both parties. Indeed, one might even discern a more pro-Palestinian stance in some of the articles. Walter Russel Mead, Senior Fellow on the Council on Foreign Relations when he wrote the article, but now Professor of Foreign Affairs and Humanities at Bard College, advised the just installed Obama administration, in the first issue of 2009, that the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict should be the ‘central theme of U.S. foreign policy’. In direct opposition to the administration of his predecessor Bush, Obama was advised to support a number of Palestinian demands and to show far greater support for a Palestinian state than the man he had succeeded.<sup>33</sup> One of the more interesting Israeli themed essays of

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<sup>31</sup> Keir A. Lieber, Daryl G. Press, ‘The Nukes We Need.’ *Foreign Affairs* 88:6 (2009) 39-51.

<sup>32</sup> Michael D. Bell, Daniel C. Kurtzer, ‘Old City, New Regime’ *Foreign Affairs* 88:2 (2009) 131-134.

<sup>33</sup> Mead, Walter Russell, ‘Change They Can Believe In: To Make Israel Safe, Give Palestinians Their Due’ *Foreign Affairs* 88:1 (2009) 59-76.

2010 advised the Jewish state to be open about its nuclear capabilities. Being open did not necessarily mean that Israel had to forego its nuclear arsenal, if it had any, rather the article enticed Israel to become a responsible nuclear power.<sup>34</sup> This article was also placed within the nonproliferation subject category. The two articles published in 2011 offered an interpretation of Israel's geopolitical position and the new Palestinian prime minister. The first article heavily emphasized Israel's reliance on the western world, mainly America, to survive. The second article seems out of place compared with all the former articles in which a gradual more understanding stance for the Palestinian cause was shown, and analyzes Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad. Fayyadism, defined as a focus on self-reliance and self-empowerment of the Palestinian state, aims to provide law and order for the Palestinians so the Israelis can leave the occupied territories. The author leaves it ambiguous whether the fact that Fayyad is no enemy does not automatically make him an ally of Israel.<sup>35</sup>

### 1.5 Closing thoughts

There are a number of other key subjects which have not been dealt with in this analysis because they scored significantly lower. The debates surrounding the financial crisis of 2008/2009, the interest for global warming, the rise of India, U.S. relations with the European Union and globalization fall under this consideration. Suffice it to say that apart from the financial crisis all these subjects received less than 10 mentions in the period of 2007-2011. There were also a number of interesting subjects which sadly fell out of reach of the chosen parameters. One of them is the call for an improvement of the perception of the U.S. worldwide. Several authors have offered solutions as to the betterment of U.S. standing in world opinion. Other interesting topics are as fascinating as the former one. Three subjects that are clearly on the rise are Cyberspace/Cyber warfare, a topic also linked to China, energy and food/famine around the world. The neo-liberal topic of spreading the western liberal democracy around the world is falling out of favor, with only five mentions at all in the period that this essay has analyzed.

Finally, there seems to be a bigger overarching key subject that has not been touched upon yet. It seems the subject of the decline of U.S. hegemony, with eight mentions in the top ten, is present throughout some of the other articles. While the number of articles dealing with

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<sup>34</sup> Avner Cohen, Marvin Miller, 'Bringing Israel's Bomb Out of the Basement' *Foreign Affairs* 89:5 (2010) 30-44.

<sup>35</sup> Howard M. Sachar, 'Enforcing the Peace' Full *Foreign Affairs* 90:1 (2011) 14-18; Robert M. Danin, 'A Third Way to Palestine' *Foreign Affairs* 90:1 (2011) 94-109.



U.S. hegemony might be less than those dealing with the rising world powers of China and Russia, it is interesting to ask oneself whether the mentioning of these other rising world powers does not in some way also postulate the U.S. as a clear world power. Indeed, if a great power needs another great power to contend with, to view itself as rightfully being a great power, the large amount of articles analyzing China and Russia might betray that the U.S., or in any case the foreign policy experts of *Foreign Affairs*, do not yet view their power to be in decline at all.

## 2. Backgrounds of the contributors

The analysis of the backgrounds of the authors of *Foreign Affairs* seems at first hand a less daunting task than the analysis of the articles. Where the drawing of the line of what to include in the analysis and what to leave out was a default choice with the articles, concerning the authors the line seems much more natural. In the years 2007-2011 349 authors were discovered. Continuing with the analysis given in the introduction the backgrounds of each author were put into an excel sheet. Every new background that emerged was added to the sheet, while for every year the backgrounds were added. Thus it is possible to not only look at the top of the authors that contributed, but also to any trends in contributions that might have existed, or still exist, in *Foreign Affairs*.

There are two tops of contributors discernible. The top 15, and the top 27. Chances of an article having been provided by an author associated with the top 15 contributors is 59,85 percent. Chances that an article was contributed from an author associated with the top 27 is 74,35 percent. Chances that an author himself comes from the top 15 contributors is 46,1 percent, chances that he comes from the top 27 is 57,3 percent.<sup>36</sup> These numbers are rudimentary and less arbitrary than the division into subjects of the essays. An author either comes or does not come from a certain university or institute. Most authors were connected to several institutions, making the statistics used unsuitable to follow individual authors, but for the purpose of this study, ascertaining from which research institutes the majority of contributions to *Foreign Affairs* come, it proves quite useful.

There were two reasons for selecting the top 15 out of the top 27. First, every institute below the University of Chicago has contributed less than four articles during the period 2007-2011. Secondly, the mark of 46,1 is a good indicator of a border existing in that region.

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<sup>36</sup> Appendix VI-1 and VI-2, top 15 and top 27. In the complete analysis at least 102 different institutions were accounted for.

The additional twelve research institutes that comprise places 16 till 27 only offer 14,4 percent to add to the total of 46,1 percent.<sup>37</sup> This seems justification enough to draw the border at that position, in the understanding that if the border would have been drawn a step above or below the results would not have differed much, though of course drawing the line somewhere means at least one institution does not make the final list. Those considerations aside, there is now an accountable top 15 of which this essay will proceed to analyze the major contributors, the backgrounds of the various institutions, their geographical location, and the roles which each institute fulfills. Such a dissection aims to give an overview of the exact background of the top contributors within *Foreign Affairs*.

There are 15 major contributors. Within the top 15 there seem to be three groups. The top two contributors, the Council on Foreign Relations and ‘Politicians’ stand quite apart from the rest.<sup>38</sup> Places 3 through 8 are made up of a number of prominent universities that have contributed a bit less than places one and two, while places 7 through 15 a bank and an NGO among which are for the rest also universities. The second group of contributors, named ‘Politicians’ refers to any state agents who published in the journal not as a member of any other research facility but as a member of the government, it also refers to the presidential candidates that wrote essays. There were seven candidates that can be subtracted from this total leaving 17 contributions from government actors alone throughout 2007-2011. It can then be concluded that even without presidential elections, government agents use *Foreign Affairs*, and they are the second largest group to do so.

The first major contributor is, rather unsurprisingly, the Council on Foreign Relations itself. In every year, save 2011 which has not yet been completed, members of the Council on Foreign Affairs provided the most contributions. This even counts for 2007, in which at first glance the ‘Politicians Pool’ seems to have two more contributors (seven for the Council, nine for the Politicians). However, this was also the year running up to the presidential elections and four of the nine contributions were made by presidential candidates. Subtracting that gives five contributions for the Politicians, versus the seven of the Council.<sup>39</sup> This should not be a surprising conclusion, yet the careful reader would do well to be aware that members of the Council on Foreign Relations are also active at other institutions, meaning that a number of other institutes that score high also have Council members working among them.

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<sup>37</sup> Appendixes VI throughout VIII.

<sup>38</sup> Appendix VI through VIII.

<sup>39</sup> Compare Appendix V, total of key subjects (Presidential candidates) with Appendix VIII (Politicians).



Places 3 through 8 are occupied by five prominent American universities of which also a number of the authors of the Council on Foreign Relations have positions at. The Universities of Georgetown, Stanford, Brookings Institution, Harvard and Princeton contribute quite generously to the journal in comparison to the other universities listed. Contributions mainly come from the departments dealing Diplomacy, History, Law and International Relations. The departments are diverse and there is not a single department that stands out for contributing much more than the others, the contributions are evenly spread out among the departments. Contributions from Georgetown University mainly come from the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, the International Affairs and the Security Studies departments. Stanford's Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies supplied authors, as did its Hoover Institution, the Stanford Law School and the department of Journalism. The Brookings Institution's foremost contributor was its department on foreign policy, the Saban Center for Middle East Policy, though there were also contributions from the John L. Thornton China Center. Contributions from Harvard came from the John F. Kennedy School of Government, from the Business School and its Economics department. The History and International Affairs departments at Princeton contributed, but in the case of Princeton a large amount came from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

Places 7 through 15 are taken by six universities, one bank and one NGO. For the universities of New York, Columbia, California, Minnesota, John Hopkins and Chicago the same trend can be observed as for the universities dealt above. Contributions do not come from one particular department but from the departments that deal with the matter of *Foreign Affairs*. It is interesting to mention Evercore Partners and the International Crisis Group.<sup>40</sup> The first is a private investment and advisement firm run by Roger C. Altman. Altman's own political career included being Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and later on he obtained the function of Deputy Treasury Secretary. Apart from being active in the financial world he also lectured at Yale and acted as advisor to both John Kerry and Hillary Clinton. His contributions are thus an interesting amalgamate of financial expertise, government experience and scholarship. Both of his contributions dealt with the financial crisis of 2008 and 2009, his 2009 article giving an overview of the global impact of the crisis and his 2010

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<sup>40</sup> Appendix VII

article delved into the financial irresponsibility of the U.S., especially under Bush.<sup>41</sup> Should all the independent contributors of top firms in the U.S. be added into one category they too would end up in the top ten. Already mention was made of an essay by the CEO of Google, and there was also an article by Christof Rühl, Chief Economist at BP, in 2010.<sup>42</sup>

Apart from the International Crisis Group, an NGO focused on ‘preventing and resolving deadly conflict’, a sizable number of NGO’s and think-tank’s contribute to *Foreign Affairs*.<sup>43</sup> Only the International Crisis Group is found in the top 15, but in the top 27 it is joined by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Center for Global Development, the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Human Rights Watch and the Nixon Center, now the Center for the National Interest. Apart from place 21 (the Eurasia Group) and 24 (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) places 16 through 25 are filled by nonprofit, think-tank’s and nonpartisan organizations which together also form one of the major contributors to the journal.

Apart from the University of Oxford the top contributors are all based in the U.S. That is not to say there are no other foreign contributors, but in the period 2007-2011 the ones that did contribute only did so once. In the complete list of contributors there were, amongst others, also two institutes in France, several in Germany and two in China.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Roger C. Altman, ‘Globalization in Retreat’ *Foreign Affairs* 88:4 (2009) 2-7; Roger C. Altman, Richard N Haass, ‘American Profligacy and American Power’ *Foreign Affairs* 89:6 (2010) 25-34.

<sup>42</sup> Christof Rühl, ‘Global Energy After the Crisis’ *Foreign Affairs* 89:2 (2010) 63-75.

<sup>43</sup> <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/about.aspx> (accessed 9-04-2011); and Appendix VII.

<sup>44</sup> There were two contributions from China from Tsinghua University, Beijing and the Peking University: School of International Studies. The University of London did contribute, as did King’s College and the International Institute for Strategic Studies, both also in London. From France there was the Institut Français des Relations Internationales in Paris and the INSEAD Businessschool in Fontainebleau. There were also several contributions from Germany, of which two were by an author associated with *Die Zeit*. Contributions also came from Switzerland (University of St. Gallen), Korea (Kookmin University) and Israel (University of Tel Aviv).

## Conclusion

The Council on Foreign Relations started the journal *Foreign Affairs* in 1922. The Council was a joining of two distinct American groups that had been interested in foreign policy quite apart from each other. Now, 89 years after the foundation of the journal, it still serves the function of offering differing views and debate on the matters in the world of international diplomacy. By analyzing the years 2007-2011 some of the major trends in the journal were revealed, as well as the background of its contributors.

As a journal focused on foreign affairs it is no surprise to see that the themes in the magazine are all heavily linked to the contemporary political world. Above that, the journal focuses, quite logically, on the U.S. side of international relations. Subjects such as the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq are discussed, in all their diversity. Authors offer policymakers new solutions, adamantly campaign exit strategies or defend the government's current strategy. It is striking that the journal offers these grounds for debate. The journal has to satisfy the American foreign agenda foremost, and the world's agenda comes second. Such can be seen in the articles about nonproliferation in which it is stressed, whichever policy Obama will execute, that the U.S. should take the lead. It also shows how well the authors follow current American politics, Obama's nuclear agenda is critically followed, evaluated and assessed. An interesting trend was discovered in the essays concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict. The authors writing on the conflict itself increasingly offered solutions that meant the government officials would have to make concessions to the Palestinians. The ideal solution of peace in the Middle East could only be obtained by not estranging the Palestinian side too much. Critique of the U.S.'s ally Israel was not rare.

Perhaps the most interesting trend in the years that were analyzed was the increasing attention given to China and Russia. In their handling of the theme the authors were as diverse as on the other subjects. Both countries were seen as rising world powers that increasingly asserted their influence outside their borders. Strategies were offered on how the U.S. could best treat these new superpowers. On the question how the U.S. should act the authors did not agree, with answers ranging from acceptance to cooperation and finally opposition. The prevalence of this theme, the new world powers and how the U.S. should act, betrays the assumption of the authors that the U.S. itself is still a superpower, and will remain so. That the U.S. should lead the nonproliferation movement, and that it should be the country to decide how to deal with China and Russia clearly points to the acceptance, and maybe even subconsciously the vindication, of the fact that the U.S. as well still remains a world power.



Delving deeper into the background of the institutions the authors hailed from that contributed to *Foreign Affairs*, gave a clear insight which universities were most linked with the journal. It was not enough to focus on the universities alone, for it was shown how NGO's, think tanks, politicians and prominent businessmen were also featured more often than could be glimpsed from the tally results at first glance. Nevertheless the members of the Council on Foreign Affairs were most closely involved contributing to the journal, as were the universities and institutions they were affiliated with. The prominence of *Foreign Affairs* was glimpsed by the fact that politicians and government agents together were the second most contributing class, leaving even the universities behind them.

By analyzing the essays and the background of the authors this essay has revealed the important themes that have been discussed in the last couple of years in *Foreign Affairs* and revealed the institutions behind the journal. Although something can be said against the element of subjectivity in naming key subjects in the essays this process has revealed major trends of which some might be more unexpected than others. Most interesting is the preoccupation of the writers with the rising world powers China and Russia in which they wishfully mirror their own world power.



## Appendixes

### Appendix I Totals

Final Analysis

	<b>2011 (90)*</b>	<b>2010 (89)</b>	<b>2009 (88)</b>	<b>2008 (87)</b>	<b>2007 (86)</b>	<b>Totals</b>
<b>Total authors:</b>	36	92	87	73	61	349
<b>Total articles:</b>	26	75	65	59	71	296

\*of 2 issues

26 issues were examined

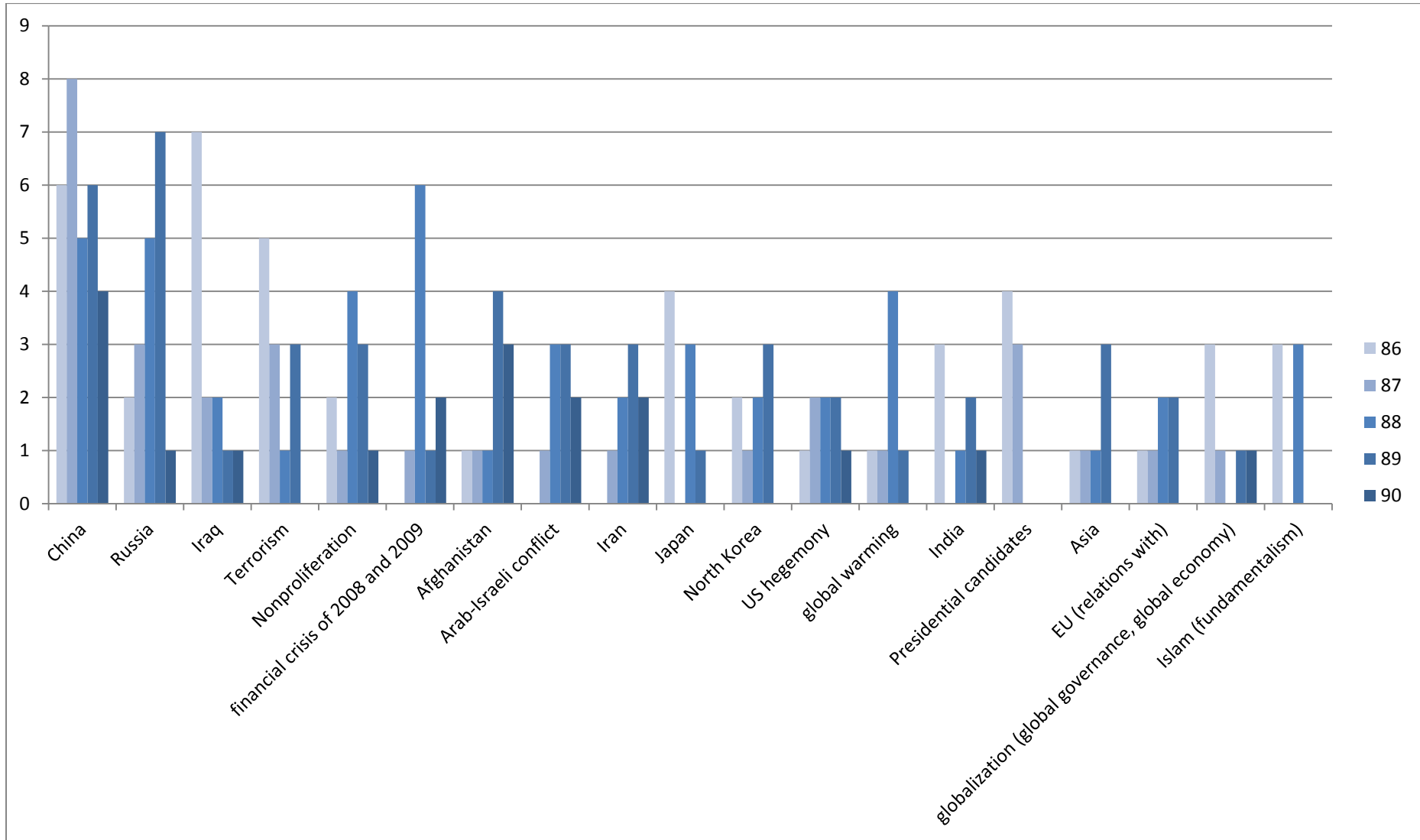


**Appendix II, example of the analysis, *Foreign Affairs* 89:2 (2010).**

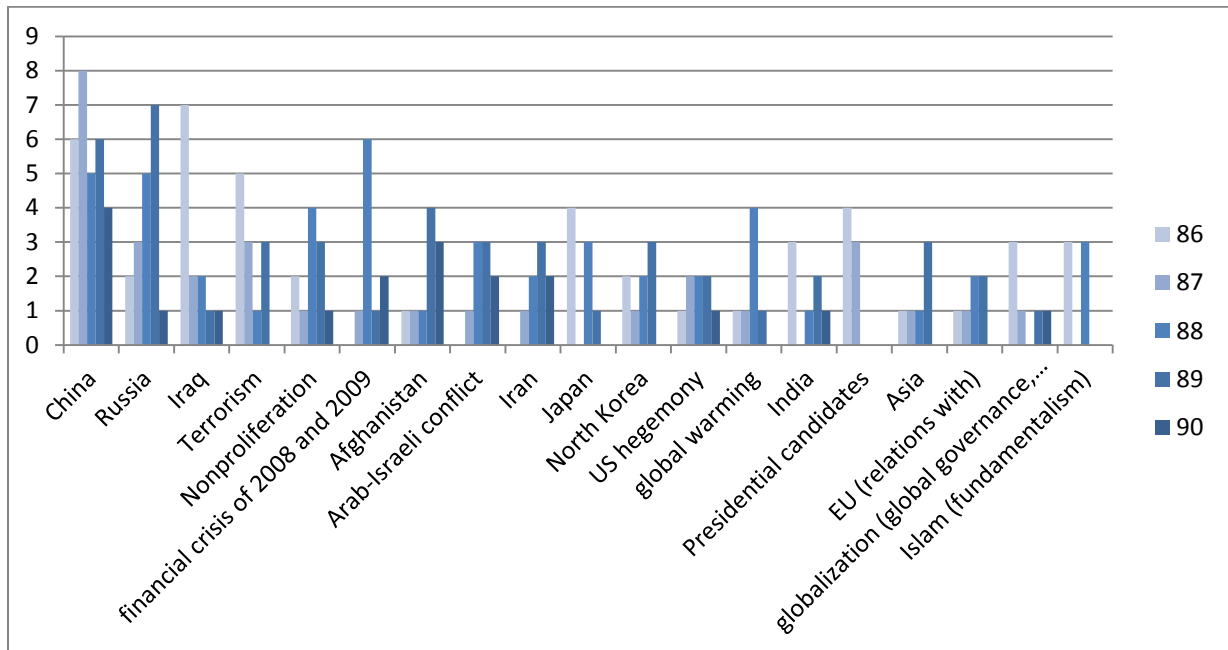
89-2	author	title	subject	key subject	background author 1	background author 2
1	Berman, Sheri	From the Sun King to Karzai	statebuilding in afghanistan better US relations: human rights	Afghanistan, statebuilding	Associate Professor of Political Science, Barnard College, Columbia University	
2	Roth, Kenneth	Empty Promises? Complexity and Collapse.	rise and fall of empires	human rights, terrorism	Executive Director, Human Rights Watch	
3	Ferguson, Niall	After Iran Gets the Bomb	Iran	fall of US	Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History, Harvard University; Fellow, Jesus College, Oxford; Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University	Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations
4	Lindsay, James M.; Takeyh, Ray			Iran, nonproliferation	Senior Vice President, Director of Studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Council on Foreign Relations	
5	Yaari, Ehud.	Armistice Now	ARAB-Israeli conflict	ARAB-Israeli conflict	Lafer International Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy; Middle East Commentator, Channel 2 news, Israel	
6	Rühl, Christof.	Global Energy After the Crisis.	influence 0809 on energy	0809, energy	Chief Economist, BP plc	
7	Feigenbaum, Evan A.	India's Rise, America's Interest.	see title	India, Asia, US	Senior Fellow for Asia, Council on Foreign Relations	
8	Packard, George R.	The United States-Japan Security Treaty at 50	treaty 1960 threatened by 09 democratic party (japan)	Japan	President, United States-Japan Foundation	
9	Gardner, Anthony Luzzatto; Eizenstat, Stuart E.	New Treaty, New Influence?	Treaty of Lisbon, EU weak on foreign policy	EU	Managing Director, Palamon Capital Partners	Head of the International Practice, Covington & Burling LLP



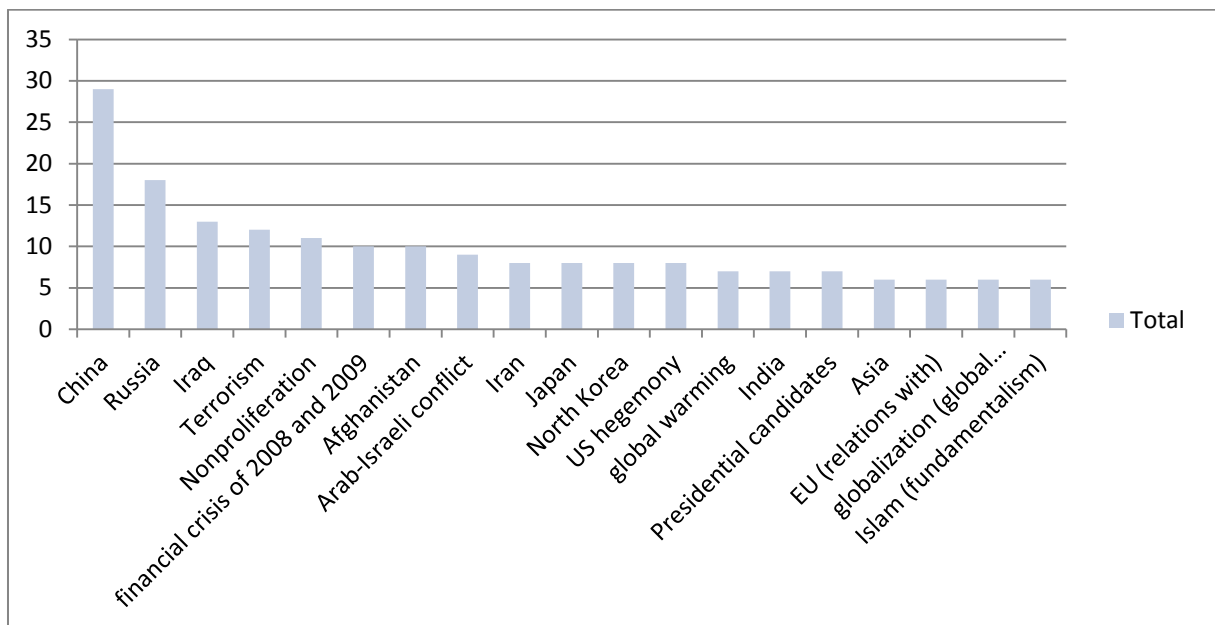
**Appendix III Graph showing the key subjects selected for further analysis**



### Appendix IV-1 key subjects per year



### Appendix IV-2 key subjects total





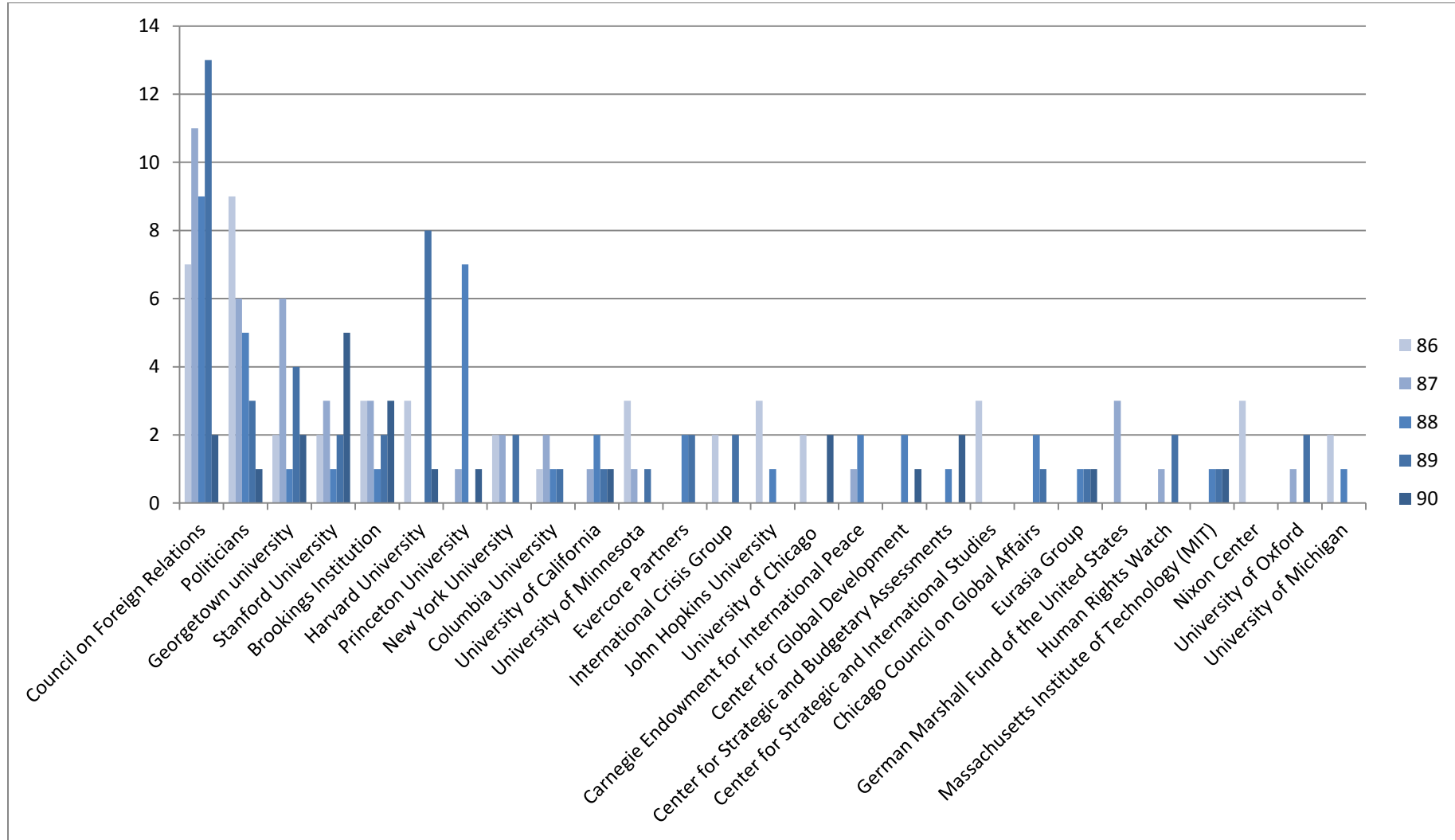


**Appendix V, total of key subjects.**

<b>Key subjects</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>percentage of</b>
1 China	4	6	5	8	6		29	9,797297297
2 Russia	1	7	5	3	2		18	6,691449814
3 Iraq	1	1	2	2	7		13	4,832713755
4 Terrorism		3	1	3	5		12	4,460966543
5 Nonproliferation	1	3	4	1	2		11	4,089219331
6 financial crisis of 2008 and 2009	2	1	6	1			10	3,717472119
7 Afghanistan	3	4	1	1	1		10	3,717472119
8 Arab-Israeli conflict	2	3	3	1			9	3,345724907
9 Iran	2	3	2	1			8	2,973977695
10 Japan		1	3		4		8	2,973977695
11 North Korea		3	2	1	2		8	2,973977695
12 US hegemony	1	2	2	2	1		8	2,973977695
13 global warming		1	4	1	1		7	2,602230483
14 India	1	2	1		3		7	2,602230483
15 Presidential candidates				3	4		7	2,602230483
16 Asia		3	1	1	1		6	2,230483271
17 EU (relations with)		2	2	1	1		6	2,230483271
18 globalization (global governance, global economy)	1	1		1	3		6	2,230483271
19 Islam (fundamentalism)			3		3		6	2,230483271
20 Cyberspace/Cyberwarfare		3	2				5	1,858736059
21 Energy	1	2	1	1			5	1,858736059
22 food/famine		2	1	1	1		5	1,858736059
23 Democratizing the world			3	1	1		5	1,858736059
24 Al Qaeda	1				3		4	1,486988848
25 Middle East		1	2		1		4	1,486988848
26 Nato		1	1	2			4	1,486988848
27 Transatlantic relations		2			2		4	1,486988848
28 Turkey		1	1		2		4	1,486988848

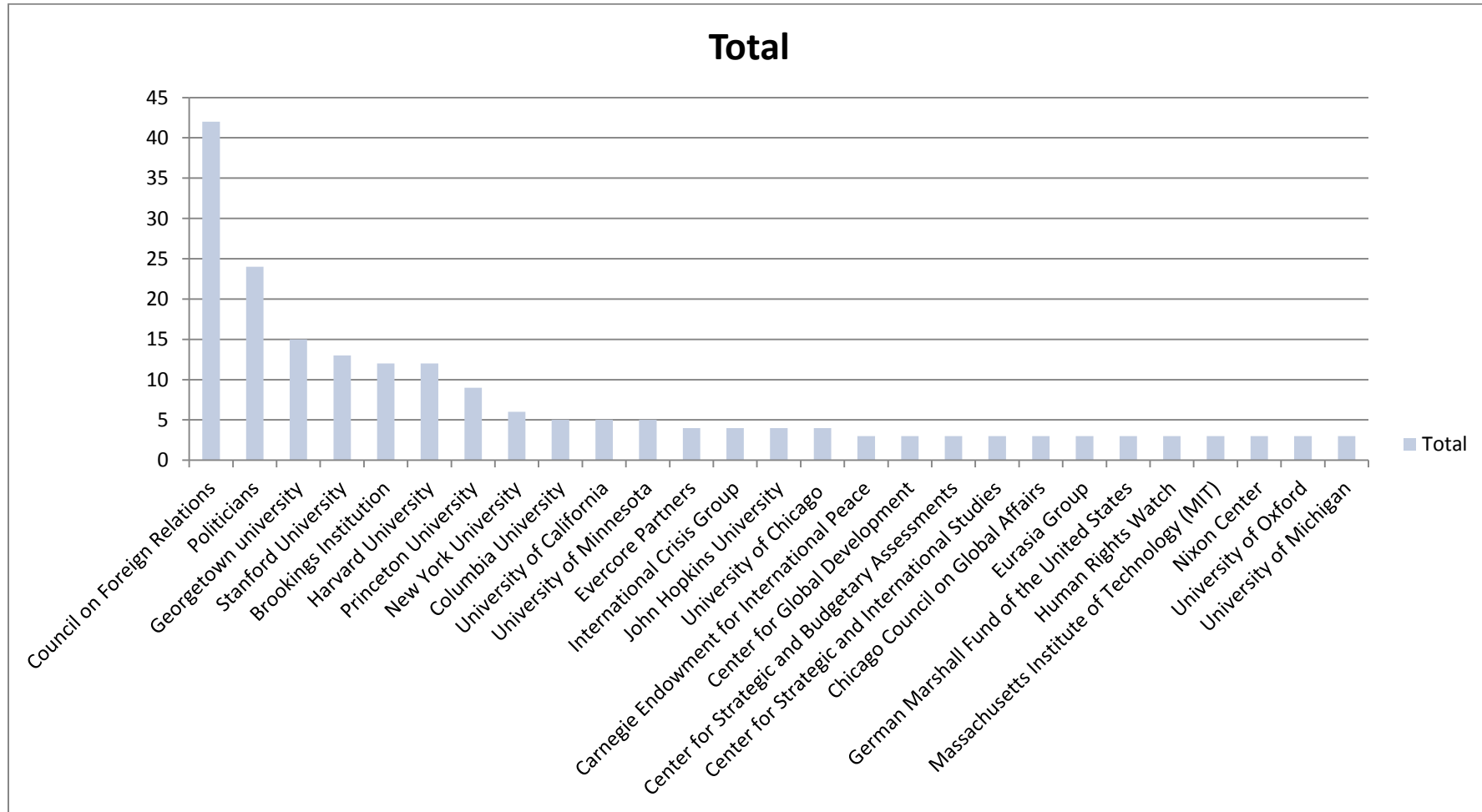


Appendix VI-1 top 21



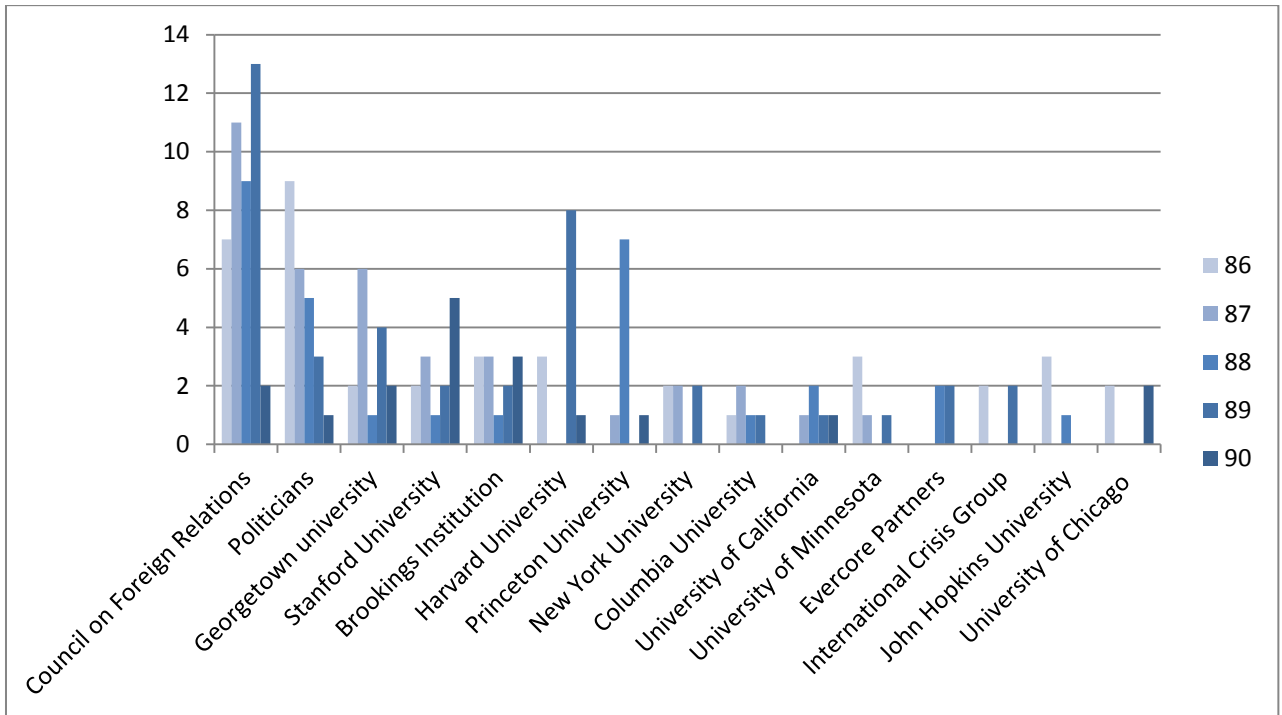


### Appendix VI-2 top 27 total contributions

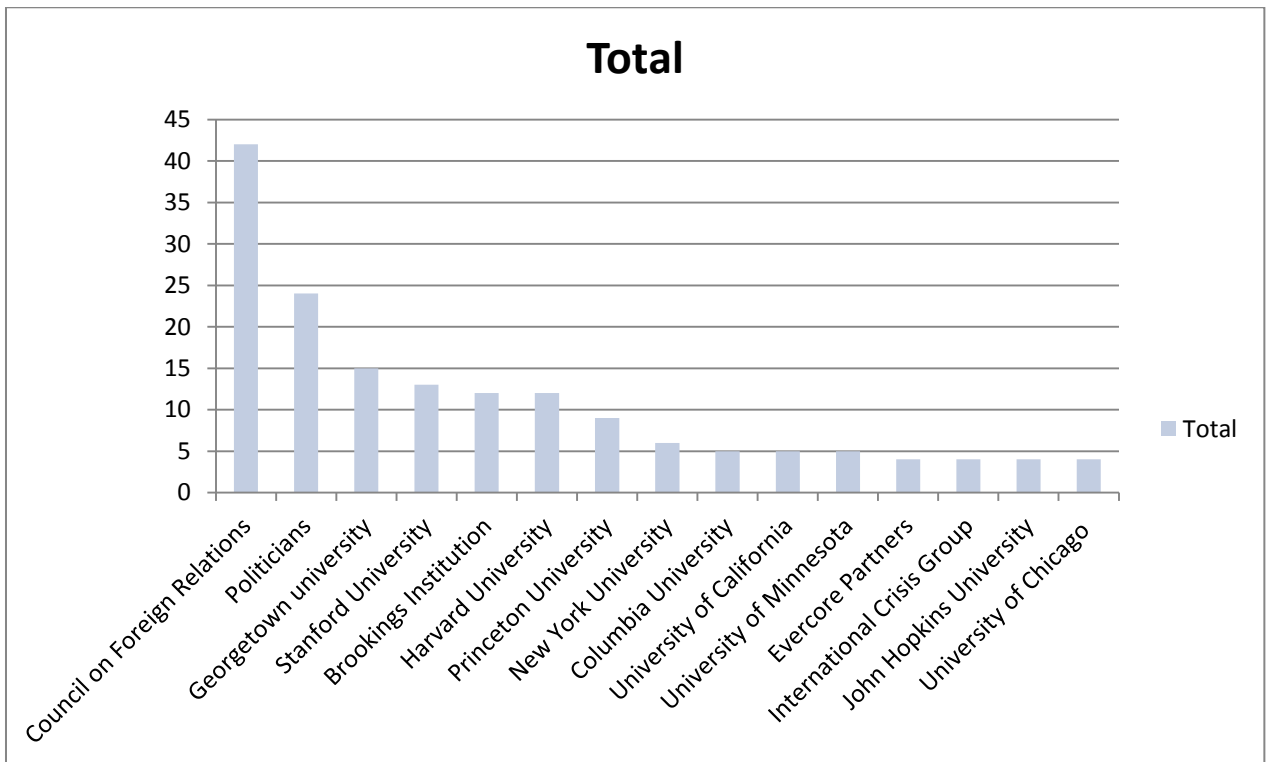




**Appendix VII-1 top 15**



**Appendix VII-2 top 15 total**





**Appendix VIII top 27**

	90	89	88	87	86	Total	Geography	Role	of 349	of 269
1 Council on Foreign Relations	2	13	9	11	7	42	US	Thinktank	12,034384	15,613383
2 Politicians	1	3	5	6	9	24	US	Politics	6,8767908	8,9219331
3 Georgetown university	2	4	1	6	2	15	US	University	4,2979943	5,5762082
4 Stanford University	5	2	1	3	2	13	US	University	3,7249284	4,8327138
5 Brookings Institution	3	2	1	3	3	12	US	University	3,4383954	4,4609665
6 Harvard University	1	8			3	12	US	University	3,4383954	4,4609665
8 Princeton University	1		7	1		9	US	University	2,5787966	3,3457249
7 New York University		2		2	2	6	US	University	1,7191977	2,2304833
9 Columbia University		1	1	2	1	5	US	University	1,4326648	1,8587361
10 University of California	1	1	2	1		5	US	University	1,4326648	1,8587361
11 University of Minnesota		1		1	3	5	US	University	1,4326648	1,8587361
12 Evercore Partners		2	2			4	US	Bank	1,1461318	1,4869888
13 International Crisis Group		2			2	4	US	NGO	1,1461318	1,4869888
14 John Hopkins University			1		3	4	US	University	1,1461318	1,4869888
15 University of Chicago	2				2	4	US	University	1,1461318	1,4869888
16 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace			2	1		3	US	Nonprofit	0,8595989	1,1152416
17 Center for Global Development	1		2			3	US	Thinktank	0,8595989	1,1152416
18 Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments	2		1			3	US	Thinktank	0,8595989	1,1152416
19 Center for Strategic and International Studies					3	3	US	Thinktank	0,8595989	1,1152416
20 Chicago Council on Global Affairs		1	2			3	US	Nonpartisan	0,8595989	1,1152416
21 Eurasia Group	1	1	1			3	US	Consultancy	0,8595989	1,1152416
22 German Marshall Fund of the United States				3		3	US	Nonpartisan	0,8595989	1,1152416
23 Human Rights Watch		2		1		3	US	NGO	0,8595989	1,1152416
24 Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)	1	1	1			3	US	University	0,8595989	1,1152416
25 Nixon Center					3	3	US	Thinktank	0,8595989	1,1152416
26 University of Oxford		2		1		3	GB	University	0,8595989	1,1152416
27 University of Michigan			1		2	3	US	University	0,8595989	1,1152416
									<b>57,30659</b>	<b>74,34944</b>

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