

that the public discourse has been impoverished, as most candidates posture and the country suffers.

Part III. Foreign Policy of the Great Powers.

In the last segment of the course, we will consider the causes and consequences of foreign policy decision making, the processes by which such decisions are made, and current problems in world security and especially U.S. foreign policy. Unlike country-specific courses, such as American Foreign Policy or Chinese Foreign Policy, the present course looks beyond the horizons of one particular nation, and attempts to identify similarities and differences in the foreign policies of a variety of countries. This comparative approach, as the readings below will indicate, will be built on two foundation blocks. For one, there will be readings and lectures on the foreign policies of selected countries, such as Russia and China. These materials should provide a substantial body of knowledge about concrete cases. Second, there will be readings and lectures on some general laws, or at least hypotheses, that have emerged in the literature and that do seem to draw the study of various nations' foreign policies together. The optimists among us hope that we can learn these rules of the game faster than we acquire the capacity to blow our civilization up in a nuclear Armageddon.

Because of this concern for survival, this section of the course concentrates more on national security policies than on what is called international political economy. Nonetheless, the striking and unprecedented decline in great power war will be examined. In the contemporary context, in which the U.S. is the sole superpower and hence the dominant global player, these and other issues are addressed in the reading of Robert Kagan's *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*. In lecture, we will also consider the post-Cold War world views of Singer and Wildavsky, *The Real World Order*. At this time, we will evaluate the adequacy of various foreign policy instruments, such as economic sanctions and resort to force, though only briefly, as this is taken up at greater length in P.S. 473, International Security (fall term 2007 and often thereafter, most recently winter term 2016).

The course examines the substance of foreign policy and the theories and methods used to understand foreign policy. The choice of proper theories and methods is crucial to understanding foreign policy, but unfortunately there is no consensus about the proper theories and methods in this field. Instead, competing cliques of analysts study foreign policy from a plethora of conflicting points of view, and the intelligent student must pick and choose elements from a variety of these perspectives in order to get a full picture of comparative foreign policy today. While sometimes trendy, confusing, and tedious, this diversity of approaches can enhance the drama, excitement, and intellectual challenge of the subject. The course ends with some consideration to terrorism and anti-terrorism, a theme taken up more extensively in P.S. 473, International Security.

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE COURSE

This course is offered as part of the U of M Dearborn Political Science Program. The goals for this program can be found at <http://www.casl.umd.umich.edu/politicalsciences/>

By the end of the course, students should
-- have a basic knowledge and understanding of great power behavior and its causes and effects.

- be able to demonstrate how the great power system evolved and how it is changing in the contemporary world.
- be able to compare the American experience with the great power system with that of great powers elsewhere.
- be able to apply critical thinking and analysis to make evaluations of, and judgments on, institutions, processes, and policies.
- be able to read and understand political science texts and write clear logical prose, and to see the relationship of political science to works in other fields (economics, history, geography, etc.) whose practitioners have examined the great powers.
- have the knowledge and understanding for responsible citizenship and political participation and how to be involved, as well as some fresh ideas on how to succeed as a nation or as a young citizen in the modern world.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The exams in the course will be designed to test your knowledge of the readings and lectures. The three exams will be half multiple choice and half essay. The multiple choice questions will be designed to test your knowledge of specific points in the readings and lectures. The essay portion of each exam will be 25 minutes long, and during that period you will answer one question, assigned to you from a set of about three questions that will be distributed at least one week before the exam. The three questions will attempt to give you the opportunity to integrate your knowledge into a broad perspective of your own on some aspect of foreign policy. You will have to answer the question on the exam without aid of notes, but the opportunity to prepare in advance will insure that you are not caught by surprise by the question. The three exams will have equal weight (each counts for 27 percent of the course grade). No make-up exams will be permitted without documentation of medical exigency (e.g., a physician's note). Fourteen percent of the grade will be the take-home paper assignment, discussed a few lines below. About five percent of the grade will be class participation, which will help those who participate but will not lower the grade of the shy or otherwise quiet. Strong leadership in analyzing and discussing the readings may boost the weight of this class participation for those who engage in serious thinking about the texts and their relevance to global conditions.

Grading Scale:

Grading of the multiple choice tests is curved, to roughly correspond to the historic average University grade, in the B to B- range. Grading of the essay portion of the exam and of the term papers is on a basis of absolute quality rather than a curve. Grades of A correspond to a GPA of 4.0, B is a 3.0, C is a 2.0, and so on down through D (1.0) and E or F (0).

THE PAPER ASSIGNMENT:

The essay assignment, DUE NOV. 30TH, IS A FOUR-PAGE PAPER, DOUBLE SPACED: If you were running one of the campaigns for president in 2020, what lessons on how to rebuild America would you want to draw from the readings and lectures, and why? To what extent are there "lessons" in Kennedy's history, in Mearsheimer, in the works on political economy such as Thurow's *Head to Head*, and in the Robert Kagan and Joseph Nye books, and readings on the war on terrorism?

READINGS:

The following required readings are available in the bookstore, and should be purchased by all students:

John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. N.Y.: W.W. Norton, 2001. 553 pp. ISBN 0-393-02025-8. The 2014 edition, ISBN 978-0-393-34927-6, is also acceptable.

Thomas Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, expanded edition. N.Y.: Anchor Books (a division of Random House), 2000. 490 pp. ISBN 0-385-49934-5

Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*. N.Y.: Vintage Books (a division of Random House), 2004. 158 pp. ISBN 1-4000-3418-3

Joseph Nye, *Paradox of American Power*. Oxford U. Press, 2003. Paperback, 258 pp. ISBN 0-195-16110-6

There is also a Course-Pack.

Each student should buy the course pack, available from Dollar Bill Copy, for sale on line or at their toll-free number. \$Bill can be reached at 1-877-738-9200, or at www.dollarbillcopying.com. At the website, go to order products on line, then to the order course packs on line bar, then to UM-D, then to the course number. After selecting all those things, proceed to order, give mailing info., credit card, and \$Bill ships next day UPS to your address.

OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES AND POLICIES:

Those missing class should have a legitimate excuse, and should speak to me the week before if possible. Also, UM-D makes reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities. Students should register with the Disability Resource Services Office within the first few weeks of the semester to be eligible for services that semester.

I have been asked by the Provost to include the following statement (which should go without saying) --

Code of Conduct from the office of the Provost:

The University of Michigan values academic honesty and integrity. Each student has a responsibility to understand, accept, and comply with the University's standards of academic conduct as set forth by the Code of Academic Conduct, as well as policies established by the schools and colleges. Cheating, collusion, misconduct, fabrication, and plagiarism are considered serious offenses. Violations will not be tolerated and may result in penalties up to and including expulsion from the University.

Any incidences of the above will be reported to the Social Science Department Chair, the CASL Deans office, and the Student's unit and/or school.

DISABILITIES:

The University will make reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities. Students need to register with Disability Resource Services (DRS) every semester they are enrolled for classes. DRS is located in Counseling & Support Services, 2157 UC. To be assured of having services when they are needed, students should register no later than the end of the add/drop deadline of each term.

CLASS POLICIES:

1. No make-up exams will be given except under documented circumstances.
2. RESPECT. We are all to respect others opinions, beings, comments, and habits. This does not mean we cannot disagree, nor does it mean we cannot have fun. However, we each need to respect the diversity of our fellow students. There are also topics discussed that may challenge you either intellectually or emotionally; while we try to be sensitive, a university is also a place for inquiry and discovery. More about this in class.
3. Students arriving late should do so as quietly and unobtrusively as possible.
4. In the event that I am aware of a major accident on the road or a weather problem, I may delay class start by five to ten minutes.
5. ON E-MAIL: E-MAIL IS THE MAIN VEHICLE WE WILL USE TO STAY IN TOUCH OUTSIDE OF CLASS. For example, if school is canceled, I will send you an email with some attached materials. Anyone without access to the Internet at home should see me the first week of class to have alternative plans in place. While e-mail has become a very important means of communication between students and faculty, there is so much trouble for all of us from hackers and viruses, that it is good to observe appropriate norms of behavior. Because of the threat from viruses and similar plagues, I do not open emails that do not have your name as the sender, or emails that do not have a subject heading that indicates a topic related to you and the course. We should all also be cautious about opening e-mail attachments. This means, for example, your e-mail must actually be readable by me when I click on it; in other words, when I open an e-mail and there is no text because all the text has been placed in an attachment, I do not open the attachment out of caution. I look forward to hearing from you; on the whole, this email system is a blessing.
6. Class discussion and participation is an integral part of this class. If you are within two or three points of a higher grade, your participation and attendance will be taken into account. (I do not count you as present if you are sleeping, carrying on personal discussions, or otherwise “tuned out.”)
7. **As a general rule, use of laptop computers and cell phones is not permitted in class, but there are reasonable exceptions for portable computers for class purposes. Please step up to the podium area and notify me, in the first week of class, if you are wish to use a laptop computer.**
Put your pagers on vibrate and turn off your cell phones. (In the event that you are on stand-by to be asked by President Obama to be a liaison in secret meetings with the Syrian rebels, or Donald Trump has asked you to be his on-call foreign policy advisor, or some critical personal reason, let

me know ahead of time). **If your pager or cell phone goes off, or if you read or answer a text, YOU LOSE 5 POINTS. If you get up and leave to be on the phone, you lose five points. If mine goes off, you get five points.**

8 **The use of a laptop in class is acceptable ONLY FOR CLASS PURPOSES.** Game playing, emailing, and web surfing, unless approved by instructor, are not acceptable. This has become a problem and students have complained privately that it is distracting and annoying. If you feel a need to keep emailing your friends, surfing the web, or playing games, you probably should not come to class. It is your choice. If you have a laptop, I will, on occasion, ask you to look up something we are discussing.

9. I reserve the right to make minor changes to the syllabus, and we may fall behind or surge ahead, but any changes to exam dates (due to school closure, falling behind because we had a speaker, etc.) will be decided by the class by vote.

10. **UM-Dearborn's official attendance policy states that, "a student is expected to attend every class and laboratory for which he or she has registered. Each instructor may make known to the student his or her policy with respect to absences in the course. It is the student's responsibility to be aware of this policy. The instructor makes the final decision to excuse or not to excuse an absence. An instructor is entitled to give a failing grade (E) for excessive absences or an Unofficial Drop (UE) for a student who stops attending class at some point during the semester."** If you are absent, you must get notes from a fellow student. I will not go over what we covered in class, nor will I excuse you from any assignment or new information unless a real (documented) emergency occurred.

11. I will make every effort to meet with any student so requesting. You need to build relationships with your instructors so when it is time for a recommendation for a scholarship or something else, your instructors will know you. Try to come up and see me at least twice during the semester. I am around many other times than my official hours indicate; just ask. Using my email fwayman@umich.edu is definitely the BEST way to contact me.

Safety:

All students are encouraged to program 911 and UM-Dearborn's Public Safety phone number (313) 593-5333 into personal cell phones. In case of emergency, first dial 911 and then if the situation allows call UM-Dearborn Public Safety. The Emergency Alert Notification (EAN) system is the official process for notifying the campus community for emergency events. All students are strongly encouraged to register in the campus Emergency Alert System, for communications during an emergency. The following link includes information on registering as well as safety and emergency procedures information: <http://umdearborn.edu/emergencyalert/>. If you hear a fire alarm, class will be immediately suspended, and you must evacuate the building using the nearest exit. Please proceed outdoors to the assembly area and away from the building. Do not use the elevators. It is highly recommended that you do not head to your vehicle or leave campus since it is necessary to account for all persons and to ensure that first responders can access the campus. If

the class is notified of a shelter in place requirement for a tornado warning or severe weather warning, your instructor will suspend class and shelter the class in the lowest level of this building away from windows and doors. If notified of an active threat (shooter) you will Run (get out), Hide (find a safe place to stay) or Fight (with anything available). Your response will be dictated by the specific circumstances of the encounter.

SCHEDULE: GREAT POWERS PS 375

Please note: we may go slower or faster than indicated, depending on classroom discussion, a significant current event, or for some other reason.

COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS:

Students should complete the following readings by the indicated dates.

I. THE THEORY AND HISTORY OF THE GREAT POWERS' INTERACTION

By Sept. 10th: Kennedy, *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (N.Y.: Random House, 1987), course pack, 72 pages.

By Sept. 12th: Mearsheimer, *Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, front cover to page 100.

By Sept. 19th: Mearsheimer, pp. 101-200.

By Sept. 26th: Mearsheimer, pp. 201-300.
Course pack, Wayman, "Power Shifts and War."

By Oct. 3rd: Mearsheimer, rest of book.

-- THE FIRST EXAM WILL BE ON THURS., OCT. 5TH --
THE EXAM WILL COVER ALL MATERIAL IN PART I.

II. THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE FOR POWER

By Oct. 12th: Weede, and Reich in course pack:

Recommended reading (this item *not* required): Lester Thurow, *Head to Head* (N.Y.: William Morrow, 1992), excerpts (pp. 27-55, 259-286). These pages will be summarized in lecture.

Erich Weede, *Economic Development, Social Order, and World Politics* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1996), excerpts.

Robert Reich, *The Work of Nations* (N.Y.: Knopf, 1991), excerpts.

Note: OCT. 16TH AND 17TH HAVE BEEN DESIGNATED AS UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN-DEARBORN FALL BREAK

By Oct. 19th: Friedman, *Lexus and Olive Tree*, chs. 3-4 (Lexus and Olive Tree; Walls Come Tumbling Down), 6-7 (Golden Straightjacket; Electronic Herd), 9-10 (Globalution; Shapers, Adapters, ...)

By Oct. 26th: Friedman, *Lexus and Olive Tree*, chs. 12 (Golden Arches), 14 (Winners Take All), 18 (Revolution in the U.S.)

By Nov. 2nd: Clyde Prestowitz, *Three Billion New Capitalists*. ch. 5, "Serviced in India." (26 pp.)

William Baumol, Sue Blackman, and Edward Wolff, *Productivity and American Leadership: The Long View*, pp. 9-25 (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1989.)

-- THE SECOND EXAM WILL BE ON THURS., NOV. 9TH --
THE EXAM WILL COVER ALL MATERIAL IN PART II.

III. CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN FOREIGN POLICY

By Nov. 16th: Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power*, pp. 1-103.

By Nov. 21st: Kagan, pp. 104-158. Joseph Nye, *Paradox of American Power*, pp. 1-100.

Note: THANKSGIVING IS NOV. 23RD, THANKSGIVING VACATION IS NOV. 23-26TH

By Nov. 26th: Joseph Nye, *Paradox of American Power*, pp. 100-end.

By Dec. 3rd: David Wilkinson, Zeev Maoz, Thomas Powers, Fouad Ajami, Andrew Sullivan, Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit in course pack:

David Wilkinson, "Central Civilization," *Comparative Civilization Review*, 1987, pp. 31-59, excerpts.

Zeev Maoz, "The Controversy over the Democratic Peace," *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 162-198.

Thomas Powers, "The CIA in Crisis." *New York Review of Books*, Vol. XLIX, No. 1, Jan. 17, 2002, pp. 28-32.

Fouad Ajami, "Nowhere Man." *New York Times Magazine*, Oct. 7, 2001, pp. 19-20.

Andrew Sullivan, "Who Says It's Not about Religion?" *New York Times Magazine*, Oct. 7, 2001, pp. 44-47, 52-53.

Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, "Occidentalism." *New York Review of Books*, Vol. XLIX, No. 1, Jan. 17, 2002, pp. 4-7.

Joseph Lelyveld, "All Suicide Bombers Are Not Alike." *New York Times Magazine*, pp. 49-53, 62, and 78-79.

By Dec. 10th:

David Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *International Security* Vol. 29 (Summer 2004), pp. 49-91.

-- THE THIRD EXAM WILL BE THURS., DEC. 14 TH, 6:30-7:30 PM --

ESSAY QUESTIONS FOR THE THREE EXAMS. (Subject to possible modification).

Essay Half of each exam: Prepare 25 minute answers to each of the following THREE questions. One of these three will be on the exam.

P.S. 375 Exam No. 1, 121009, Prof. Wayman

1. What causes the rise and decline of great powers relative to each other? Base your answer on Kennedy, and be sure to discuss material capabilities (demographic, economic, and military), government policy. Distinguish persistent forces (causes that have endured over the whole period since the Renaissance) from shorter term forces (causes that are fundamentally different now than in the past). In the case of shorter term forces, identify which operate now and which are of only historic interest, and focus primarily on the former.
2. In class, we discussed the Soviet Union and Russia. To what extent do you think the Soviet Union fit the pattern of an expansionist land power discussed by Kennedy, Dehio, Goldstein, and Thompson? In what ways was the Soviet Union similar to the Hapsburgs in their bid for expansion, the French under Louis XIV and Napoleon, and the Germans under Kaiser Wilhelm and Hitler?
3. Describe as carefully as you can the thesis and supporting argument of Mearsheimer. What evidence does he have for it? How useful is it for us in the 21st century?
4. Do power shifts among the great powers cause wars? Are there any logical reasons to expect that power shifts would cause wars, and is there any evidence that they do?

ALSO, WHILE YOU STILL HAVE KENNEDY FRESH IN YOUR MIND, MAKE SOME NOTES FOR THE UPCOMING TERM PAPER QUESTION, DRAWING FROM KENNEDY AND OUR CLASS LECTURES AND DISCUSSION:

5. If you were running one of the campaigns for president in 2020, what lessons on how to rebuild America would you want to draw from the readings and lectures, and why? To what extent are there "lessons" in Kennedy's history? Can we extract lessons from the distant past? If so, what are they? In what ways is our present (and foreseeable future) so different from the past that the "lessons" are irrelevant?

Second Exam:

Essay Questions.

Prepare 25 minute answers to each of the following questions. One of the questions will be on the exam.

1. How do the arguments of Thurow, Reich, and Baumol et al. compare, contrast, and complement each other? (Be sure you summarize the main points each makes, so that I see that you know the basic theses of each book.)

2. What is the thesis of the *Lexus and the Olive Tree*? What is the logical argument by which Friedman develops his point of view? To what extent do you agree?

3. If you were running one of the campaigns for president in 2020, what lessons on how to rebuild America would you want to draw from the readings and lectures, and why? To what extent are there "lessons" in Kennedy's history, in Mearsheimer, and in the works on political economy such as Thurow's *Head to Head*?

Third Exam:

Essay Questions.

Prepare 25 minute answers to each of the following questions. One of the questions will be on the exam.

1. What is Kagan's argument, and what is Nye's? In what ways do you agree with Kagan, and in what ways do you agree with Nye?

2. What do the readings by Maoz, Wilkinson, Sullivan, Powers, Lelyveld, and Buruma and Margalit tell us about terrorism and the Sept. 11th attack on America?

3. Mearsheimer's book was written before Sept. 11, 2001. Does he take a realist perspective that is out of touch with the real problems of American foreign policy that were made manifest by the attack? Does Kagan provide a basis to correct this? Does Nye?