



P.S. 471/571 American Foreign Policy I Prof. Frank Wayman
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[160907]

COURSE CONTENT:

This course is the first semester of a survey of American foreign policy. The first semester provides a general overview, with some brief attention on events even up to the present, but with primary attention on the earlier period, i.e., pre-1990. This means a concern with (1) the Western Hemisphere, and (2) the relationship among the major powers, especially the Western major powers, such as France and Britain, and the two major powers in the communist and post-communist world, namely China and Russia.

This syllabus represents a full description of PS 471, but those taking graduate credit (PS 571) will need to meet with me personally about the further requirements for taking the course for graduate credit. Basically, graduate students will be responsible for the work in this syllabus, plus a substantial research paper focusing on U.S. interventions, wars, and militarized inter-state disputes. For graduate credit, 25% of the course grade will be based on each exam, and 25% will be based on the paper. Term papers are due Nov. 8th.

The Shaping of the World Before us:

Topics in PS 471/571 include the emergence of the U.S. as a great power (including the role of Teddy Roosevelt in the era of the Spanish American war); U.S. domination of a sphere of influence in the Western hemisphere (the Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine); the origins of the Cold War; the Korean War; the advent of the hydrogen bomb and the missile age; the Vietnam War; the rapprochement between the U.S. and China in the Nixon administration; the arms control process between the U.S. and the Soviet Union; wars and terror in the Middle East; the U.S. response to the war in Afghanistan, including the Reagan Doctrine of counter-insurgency against Communist regimes; the Iran-contra affair; the 1989

anti-communist revolution in Eastern Europe, the August 1991 coup against Gorbachev, the rise of Yeltsin, and the break-up of the former Soviet Union into the Commonwealth of Independent States; the anti-Noriega invasion of Panama, the Gulf War, and the search for a New World Order and a post-Cold-War foreign policy for the United States under Bush the elder (1989-1993); Clinton's two terms (1993-2000), with "foreign policy as social work" in Somalia and Haiti in the first term, and more serious second-term initiatives such as the U.S. intervention in the Serbian-Albanian war; and continued Mideast peace efforts, including Clinton's end-of-term peace efforts and the subsequent Palestinian-Israeli violence. We will briefly consider foreign policies of George W. Bush, including his pre-Sept. 11th unilateral tone (Kyoto protocol), his war on international terrorism after Sept. 11th, and the war over Iraq; and President Obama, including his idealist and non-interventionist rhetoric, as well as what has been called his Obama doctrine policy, including drone wars.

THE SECOND SEMESTER (American Foreign Policy II):

American Foreign Policy II (scheduled for Mon. and Wed. 11 A.M. in winter 2017) addresses American foreign policy toward the non-Western world. Also, American Foreign Policy II focuses on post-Cold War phenomena (i.e., 1990-present). Am. For. Pol. II relies more on contemporary articles from academic journals, and is more topical. Its topics include recent problems in the Middle East, intervention, peacekeeping, and the war against terrorism. Assigned books in PS 472/572 in fall 2015 were:

Eugene Wittkopf, Jones, and Kegley, *American Foreign Policy*, latest (7th) edition, (Jan. 2007) 658 pp.

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, *The Predictioneer's Game*. ca. 200 pp.

Juan Cole, *Engaging the Muslim World*. ca. 276 pp.

William Antholis and Strobe Talbott, *Fast Forward: Ethics and Politics in the Age of Global Warming*. 120 pp.

I mention these topics and readings here to give a sense of the division of material between the two semesters. To avoid duplication, for instance, the majority of our discussion of the Mideast this semester will be about the pre-1990 period, when the Mideast (although important in its own right) was part of the Cold War bipolar struggle for power.

OTHER RELATED COURSES ON CAMPUS:

Students interested in pursuing further work in the field should also consider Mideast Politics (Prof. Stockton), Revolution (Prof. Stockton), The Arms Race (Prof. Wayman), International Politics (Prof. Wayman), Great Foreign Powers (Prof. Wayman),

International Security Affairs (Prof. Wayman) and Peace and War (Prof. Wayman). The Arms Race (P.S. 260) and International Security Affairs (P.S. 473) examine changing technology from the Manhattan project to the present, with a focus on arms control to limit the risk of death from weapons of mass destruction. International Politics (P.S. 371) focuses on general principles of international behavior, such as the balance of power, nationalism, the causes of war, arms races, international law, international organizations, and means of peaceful conflict resolution. Peace and War (PS 451) examines the causes of war, especially interstate war in the past two centuries. Great Foreign Powers (P.S. 375) focuses on the objectives, capabilities, and actions of the major powers in their struggle for world mastery since the Renaissance; primary attention is paid to the major allies and adversaries of the United States, including the Soviet Union and China. American Foreign Policy (PS 361), a one-semester treatment, concentrates on the development of American foreign and defense policy since World War II, with more emphasis on the 471 material than the 472 material.

International relations degree programs:

In the Social Sciences Department, there is also an Accelerated Master of Public Policy (MPP degree) but this is currently suspended, with an International Policy Concentration. When operating, this allows highly qualified undergraduates to start work on a master's degree while still in their first four years of college study, and complete work through the Master's Degree within 5 years total. There is also an International Studies concentration available on campus, focused on combining foreign language training with a substantive area such as international relations and diplomacy (see brochures in the Humanities area of the CAS&L Building, in the Language, Culture, and Communication Dept. office; Prof. Spoiden is a leader in this program).

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING:

The course is built around reading, lectures, and class participation (including a simulation of the Cuban missile crisis, as well as traditional class discussion). **Use of laptop computers and cell phones is not permitted in class.**

The following books are required of students and should be purchased in the bookstore:

Stephen Hook and John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy since World War II*, latest edition, CQ Press; 19th edition (2013), ISBN 978-1-4522-2671-2. ("Hook&S" below)

Robert Kennedy, *The Thirteen Days*, N.Y.: W.W. Norton; ISBN 0-393-31834-6.

Walter LaFeber, *The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad since 1750*. N.Y.: W.W. Norton, 1989; ISBN 0-393-95611-3 (pbk) or 0-393-02629-9 (hardback).

There is a course-pack, also required: from \$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.

There is a written assignment, of a six-page, double-spaced paper, examining the wars of a country or a region of the world, using the Correlates of War Project data (www.correlatesofwar.org) to itemize all of its inter-state, extra-state, and intra-state wars, report whenever the U.S. was an official participant in some of those wars, and check for other indications of U.S. involvement. Details forthcoming. Assignment due Tues., Nov. 8th. This paper counts for 19% of the grade.

The exams in the course will be designed to test your knowledge of the readings and lectures. Each exam 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 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. Each exam will have equal weight, which is 27% of the course grade. In the case of students who contribute in a consistently meaningful way to the simulation or class discussion, a small upward adjustment of grades will be made to reflect their contributions to the class.

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).

Any late assignment without a signed letter from an M.D. or equivalent authority will result in a two-notch reduction in grade for that exam (e.g., from B- to straight C).

OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES AND POLICIES:

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 sledward@umich.edu is definitely the BEST way to contact me.

Emergency Preparedness:

All students are encouraged to program 911 and UM-Dearborn's University Police phone number (313) 593-5333 into personal cell phones. In case of emergency, first dial 911 and then if the situation allows call University Police.

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 EAN, 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 by using the nearest exit. Please proceed outdoors to the assembly area and away from the building. Do not use 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.

<http://www.casl.umd.umich.edu/classroomsafety>

THE INSTRUCTOR:

Prof. Wayman has been on the UM-D faculty since 1972. He has also taught courses on foreign policy at the University of Pennsylvania and on the Ann Arbor campus of this University. He has a B.A. from Cornell University and a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. He has published a monograph on what conditions produce military dictatorships (*Military Involvement in Politics*), a book on American presidential elections (*A Time of Turmoil*, co-authored with Ronald R. Stockton), and a number of articles on American, world politics and comparative politics. A long-time associate of the Correlates of War Project at the University of Michigan, he has especially written about the causes of war and the conditions of peace. Meredith Sarkees and Frank Wayman have recently completed *Resort to War: Data, Trends, and Narratives Concerning All Inter-State, Extra-State, Intra-State and Non-State Wars, 1816-2008* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010), winner of honorable mention as the best reference book in the social sciences and humanities published that year. This book has a one-page essay with supporting data on each U.S. international war since 1816. Civil wars, while included, receive briefer attention. He is also an active scholar in the

fields of American public opinion and of the effect of interest groups on Congress. His articles have been reprinted in such compendia as *Classics of International Relations*, *Classic Readings in American Politics*, and *Classics of Interest Group Behavior*. He has won the prize for the best paper at the Midwest Political Science annual meeting, as well as grants from the National Science Foundation and Resources for the Future. One of his current projects is *Predicting the Future in Science, Economics, and Politics*, initially a conference, and now an edited book on the prediction of global conditions, and, in that endeavor, the proper role of "consilience," the quest for reduction and unity of the sciences.

PURPOSES OF THE COURSE:

Graham Allison, whose study of the Cuban missile crisis is the cornerstone of our course, said in his book on the crisis, "In attempting to understand problems of foreign affairs, analysts engage in a number of related but logically separable enterprises: (1) description, (2) explanation, (3) prediction, (4) evaluation, and (5) recommendation. This study focuses primarily on description and explanation, and, by implication, prediction." In Allison's terminology, I would say our course is designed to provide students with the information necessary (a) to comprehend the causes of U.S. foreign policy, and (b) to evaluate the quality of U.S. behavior in world affairs. The course will also be helpful in understanding the presidency, congress, the bureaucracy, the media and interest groups in our society, as well as the foreign cultures with which we interact.

[The quote from Allison is from page 3 of Allison and Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, N.Y.: Addison-Wesley, 1999]

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The best statement I have seen on plagiarism comes from Professor Todayama in Japan: "Why do university professors try to inflict severe punishment for plagiarism? In the academic world, a rule such that 'truth and knowledge that a person has come at through concentrating their efforts, investigating, and thinking should fundamentally be shared among all human beings. However, such being the case, the person who came forth with the truth and knowledge should be given an equivalent amount of respect.' Plagiarism violates this rule. Strict reproach of plagiarism in a paper is based on the idea that students are also considered to be a member of this academic world" (Todayama,

Kazuhisa, *Ronbun no Kyoshitsu*. Japan Broadcast Publishing Co., Ltd., 2002: 34-35.)

Other administrators think it is important that you be told what our University's bureaucratic goals are, so I have been told to place this website in the syllabus:

<http://www.casl.umd.umich.edu/politicalsciences/>

LECTURE TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS:

N.B.: The below **page assignments in LaFeber** are keyed to the first (hardback) edition. If you have the second (paperback) edition, the page numbers change for the assignments of Sept. 8 and Sept. 15. On Sept. 8th, the assigned pages in the 2nd edition are pp. xix-39, 71-93, 193-284, 544-548, and 566-569. On Sept. 15th, the pages in the 2nd edition are pp. 580-604.

| DUE DATE: | TOPIC: | ASSIGNED READINGS: |
|-----------|---|---|
| Sep 13 | Course description; Latin American policy of the U.S., 1820-1990 | Hook&S, preface & ch. 1; LaFeber, p. xix-38, 69-90, 181-267, 517-519, 538-540 Hook&S, appendix A, & B; Kennedy, thru, pg. 80; |
| Sep 19 | U.S.-SU strategic nuclear balance; Cuba, the U.S., & Castro; Cuban crisis simulation--team mtgs. | Kennedy, remainder of book LaFeber, pp. 551-570 <i>Le Monde</i> course pack p. 110 |
| Sep 25 | Cuban simulation (2nd & concluding hour); U.S. foreign policy decision making | Allison, "Conceptual Model & the Cuban Missile Crisis" (electronic res.); Hook&S, ch. 2; Cuban crisis time line course pack p. 109 |
| Oct 2 | U.S. foreign policy decision making | Handouts; to be assigned Power elite d-making process course pack p. 111 |
| Oct 4 | THE FIRST EXAM, SCHEDULED FOR SEPT. 30TH, WILL COVER THE ABOVE MATERIAL. | |
| DATE | TOPIC | ASSIGNED READINGS |
| Oct 6 | The U.S. & Soviet Union, 1917-45; class discuss. of Kennan article | Kennan, "Sources of Soviet Conduct" (Course-PAC) Schlesinger, "Origins of the Cold War" Course-Pac LaFeber, Chs. 12-14 Hook&S chs. 2 (reread) & 3; Chronology of 1933-47, course pack p. 112 |

- Oct 13 The shift of the Cold War to Asia; China, Korea, and Taiwan till 1953 Hook&S, ch. 3; LaFeber, ch. 15
Containment and military doctrine assumptions, course pack, pp. 113-114
- Oct. 17-18 is Fall Break
- Oct 20 The Eisenhower Years Hook&S, ch. 3;
Holsti, "Cognitive Dynamics & Images of the Enemy: A Study of John Foster Dulles" (Course-PAC);
LaFeber, ch. 16; to p. 550
- Oct 27 The Kennedy Years; the Continuing Cold War, & Vietnam; comparison of Vietnam then with Central America in '80s Hook&S, chs. 4-5;
LaFeber, ch. 17
Bronfenbrenner, "The Mirror Image" (Course Pack)
& Festinger, "Cognitive Diss." (Sci. Am. 1962 electronic)
- Nov. 3 Johnson, Nixon & Vietnam; compellance; the Nixon doctrine; the evolution nuclear affairs Hook&S, chs. 5-6;
LaFeber, ch. 18
Basic Principles agreement and end of détente, course pack p. 115, doctrines course pack pp. 113-114.
- Nov. 10 The Arab-Israeli conflict, OPEC, & the Mideast Reagan, '81-84, & 2nd Term Hook&S, ch. 6.
LaFeber, ch. 19
Hook&S, ch. 6
UN Res. 242, course pack p. 116
- Nov. 15 THE SECOND EXAM, NOV. 15TH, WILL COVER THE ABOVE MATERIAL.
- Thanksgiving is Nov. 24th.
- Nov 24 The Changing International Scene \$ Bill Course Pack,
Fukuyama, Doyle,
Huntington, Ajami,
Mearsheimer, Zakaria.
- Dec 1 & 8 End of Cold War, Bush 41: Hook&S, ch. 8
Pres. Clinton, Chicago Council on For. Rels.
Geo. W. Bush, poll.
Barack Obama Gulf War Chronology
(course-pac).
- Hook&S, ch. 8-14.
Discussion.
War on Terror.
The War over Iraq.
- Dec 15 THE THIRD EXAM WILL BE TUES., 12/20 6:30-7:30 pm, and will cover the material since exam 2.

P.S. 471 All Essay Exam Questions. 200509

The essay questions for the three exams are currently designed to be as follows:

P.S. 471 Exam, Am. For. Pol., 980523, Exam #1, Prof. Wayman

PART I. ESSAY.

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

1. Discuss how security concerns, economic interests, and American ideals affect U.S. foreign policy. Give examples of when U.S. policy has been motivated by (1) ideals, (2) economics, and (3) the national security concerns identified with the "balance of power" and political realism. Which of these three goals (security, money, and ideals) is the most important and which is the least important in influencing U.S. foreign policy, in the past and nowadays?
2. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of Allison's three analyses of the Cuban missiles crisis. (Remember, his three models are designed to *explain* what happens, not to say what should be done; thus, in this context, it is not a "strength" of a model that following it would lead to good public policy; rather, an explanatory model is strong if it accounts for a large amount of what happens.) How important were the national interest, the organizational priorities and routines, and the political interests of individual actors (i.e., Models I, II, and III) in the crisis?
3. Discuss the role of nuclear weapons hardware, nuclear weapons strategy, and the command and control of nuclear weapons in American and Soviet foreign policy in the Kennedy and Khrushchev era, and show how these matters affected the struggle for dominance and peace in the Cuban missile crisis.

P.S. 471 Exam, American Foreign Policy
980606, Exam #2, Prof. Wayman

PART I. ESSAY.

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

1. What caused the Cold War? More specifically, (1) how did it get started, (2) what kept it going, and (3) what things determined its varying intensity? Was it in part the result of peculiar American beliefs, interests, and actions, or would (as realists would argue) any nation with the same powers as the United States have quarreled in the same way with the Soviet

Union?

2. Compare and contrast the doctrines of containment, massive retaliation, deterrence, and compellance. What assumptions do each of them make about the enemy? Which, if any, has a chance of being effective in the post-Cold War world (now that the enemy they were originally designed for, and the containment policy on which they were based, concerning Soviet communism, is history) and why?

3. Discuss the problems in applying the containment doctrine beyond Western Europe and Japan to the rest of Asia, to Africa, and to Central America. Under what circumstances, then, should the U.S. have attempted to contain communism in the third world in general, and in Vietnam in particular? What lessons, if any, do you find in the spread of communism to Afghanistan and Nicaragua (and almost El Salvador) in the Carter administration, and in the Reagan doctrine of rolling back communism?

P.S. 471 Exam, 990701, Exam #3, Prof. Wayman
American Foreign Policy

PART I. ESSAY.

The essay question will be collected after 25 minutes. Do it first. One of the following three questions will be selected for the exam.

1. What fundamental features of the international environment have changed since 1988 (the last full year of the Cold War)? Which features remain the same? How does the U.S. need to change to be secure and to have an effective foreign policy in our era? How does the foreign policy of the 1990s and 21st century differ from the foreign policy of the Cold War (Truman to Reagan)? How is it similar?

2. Analyze and critique the end of history, democratic peace, and clash of civilization arguments. Discuss both the points made by the advocates of these ideas (Fukuyama, Doyle, Huntington) and by their critics (e.g., Ajami).

3. What have been the successes and shortcomings of the U.S. in the war on terrorism and in Iraq & Afghanistan? What of the Reagan, first Bush, Clinton, and second Bush presidencies and their handling of this problem?