

America and the World

Fall 2017

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Meeting time: TR 9:30-10:45 am
Meeting Place: Coleman Morse 234

The object of this course is to help students understand the U.S. role in the world. U.S. wealth and military power force its leaders to make choices that no other leaders in the world confront: the United States can potentially make a difference, for good or ill, on a much larger scale than any other country. In this course, students will learn to evaluate the decisions that U.S. leaders have made on a wide range of difficult foreign policy issues, including rising Chinese power, Russian moves in Ukraine, nuclear proliferation to Iran, terrorist threats, humanitarian disasters in civil wars like Syria and Libya, and long-term global challenges like climate change. We will review each issue in two parts: first, to understand its contours from a selection of general-interest articles (from sources like *The New Yorker*, *The Atlantic*, *The New York Review of Books*, *The National Interest*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *Foreign Policy*), and then from a scholarly article that highlights a theory or framework that academics might use to interpret the issue. For the last several weeks of the course, we will assess the coherence of U.S. foreign policy decisions – that is, whether the United States follows a “grand strategy” – and we will debate several leading alternative proposals for U.S. grand strategy. By the end of the course, students will develop their ability to think about foreign policy issues, improving their ability to participate in public life as engaged citizens.

Format

This course will probably introduce students to a fair amount of substantively new material, and it should also introduce students to academic discussion and debate as a means of active learning. I expect significant class participation from each and every student. While I will present short introductions to each class and will intersperse short presentations into the middle of class sessions, I expect students to use most of the class time for discussion. I will pose questions to try to get students to articulate key concepts and to initiate those discussions. Sometimes my questions will elicit points made directly in the readings, but more often, students will have to think about the readings and present their own analyses of the situations and choices confronting the United States. Students should be fully prepared to participate in every class, which includes having done the readings ahead of time. I expect constructive debate among students. Students should learn all of the material covered in the readings, lectures, and discussions.

I am glad to meet students one-on-one. Please set up appointments by e-mail. I will also freely answer e-mailed questions. If you have questions or would like to consult me about something, please ask!

Grading

Your grade in the course combines my assessments of your class participation (20%), response papers (20%), two short essays (20% each, for a total of 40%), and a final exam (20%).

Class Participation. Participation includes both verbal participation during class time and also written participation on the class' discussion forum on Sakai. Each student's participation contributes not only to your own learning (especially because putting facts and analysis into your own words helps you process and retain knowledge) but also to your classmates' learning (they listen and respond to your comments).

Your participation grades will emphasize the quality of your comments and your ability to add a lot to the conversation while sharing time gracefully with your colleagues. An ideal comment ("high quality") is constructive, concise, correct, and significantly influences follow-on discussion. It will certainly be appropriate sometimes for the same student to speak multiple times in a single class session. If you have something to say, you should raise your hand and say it when recognized, and I will also try hard to make sure that all students who wish to speak have a chance to express their thoughts in class.

After each class session, I encourage you to continue the conversation on the Sakai discussion forum. The idea of the discussion board is to promote serious discussions of the readings – comments, questions, critiques, etc. – or of current events tied to the foreign affairs and the role of the United States. Note that discussion board participation need not necessarily be tied only to a particular session's reading: you are free to continue discussion of past sessions' readings or to contribute comments about extra-curricular speakers that you attend or about global current events of interest to your classmates. The extent to which the posts connect to course themes will naturally influence my evaluation of your posts. Ideal posts should specifically integrate the material from class readings, lectures, or discussions, and you should comment or make an argument in your posts rather than simply post a link for your colleagues to decipher. Explain why you posted the link and why it is important for other people in the class to read your post.

Some students may prefer the discussion board as a mechanism to participate, because it gives you time to craft and edit your comments, and speaking in front of a group can be intimidating. While I recognize that possibility, I encourage you over the course of the semester to participate via both mechanisms, since learning to express yourself both verbally and in writing is important for your future success.

Contributions to the discussion board should be original work, written specifically for the discussion board (and preferably interacting with other students on the discussion board). Posting a section of one of your response papers to the discussion board will *not* earn class participation points, although you can make points in your discussion board post that are similar to those you make in a response paper, if the points are appropriate for the discussion, just as you can make points in class discussion that are similar to issues addressed in your response papers.

Especially in a relatively small seminar setting, regular attendance and participation are very important for your educational experience. Unexcused absences after the first two will each reduce your participation grade for the entire semester by a third of a grade.

Response Papers. Each student will write five short papers over the course of the semester. Response papers are due at the beginning of class; late papers will lose one third of a grade per day. Every student needs to turn in a paper on August 24 so that I can give each of you baseline feedback on how to write good response papers. These papers will be graded the same way that I will grade the later response papers, but your grade on that first response paper will not count toward your final grade for the course. After August 24, you will decide when to turn in your response papers based on your own schedule and interests, but you must turn in at least three response papers (including the one that does not count towards your grade) on or before October 5. Each paper should be 1-2 pages long and should include a short summary of each assigned reading followed by a final paragraph with your own comments on the topic of the week. These papers have two goals: 1) to develop the skill of distilling key points from readings, and 2) to cultivate your ability to make connections and arguments. Writing the papers will also help you prepare for class discussion.

If you choose to, you can write a sixth response paper. I will replace your lowest grade on the earlier response papers with the grade for that sixth response paper, if your grade on the sixth paper is higher than your lowest previous grade.

Essays. You will write two four-to-five-page essays during the course. I will pass out the first prompt on September 28 and the second one on November 14. Each time, you will have a week to compose your essay, meaning the due dates are October 5 and November 21.

The goal of the essays is to develop analytical skills, and you must make an argument and support it with evidence in your papers. Reference to appropriate readings from the course is required, using properly formatted footnotes (you can copy the format from this syllabus); I will deduct at least a third of a letter grade for incomplete or missing citations. The paper will not require outside research, although at your discretion you may choose to do some. If you do outside research, you are responsible for the quality of the outside sources that you use. Wikipedia and other encyclopedias are *not* acceptable sources for college-level work.

Your grade will also include an assessment of your writing style and mechanics. I encourage you to take advantage of the Writing Center (<http://writingcenter.nd.edu>), if you wish to do so. The content of your submission must be strictly your own. Your papers should be double-spaced with normal margins and font size. Papers are due *at 11:00 am* on the due date, and late papers will lose 1/3 of a grade per day.

Exam. The final exam will cover all of the material presented in the course, whether in class readings or discussions. The exam will be open-note and open-book, and it will take place December 14 at 10:30 am. Feel free to study in groups, but all collaboration must end as soon as the exams are distributed.

Honor Code and Academic Integrity

All submitted work, including response papers, discussion board posts, essays, and the final exam, must be solely your own, although you are permitted to use the assistance provided through the Writing Center, understanding that the Writing Center helps only with writing and not with the substance of your work. If you have any questions about how the Honor Code applies to your work in this class, please ask me.

The University of Notre Dame provides resources to help you understand plagiarism (especially <https://philosophy.nd.edu/assets/77703/plagiarism.pdf>), cheating, and other offenses against academic integrity, and you should review them. If I find that you have violated the Honor Code, I will pursue the most severe penalties available.

Note specifically that I expect your writing in this class to meet very high standards for using your own words rather than quoting material from other sources. Putting ideas into your own words contributes to your learning process. If you use someone else's idea, add a footnote; if you quote someone else, use both quotation marks and a footnote. The longest reasonable quotation for purposes of this class is about two sentences (depending on their length). I will consider longer quotations, even with quotation marks and a footnote, to violate the academic standards of the course. If you are tempted to use a long quotation, paraphrase and footnote instead.

Computer Policy

Research about education has shown that students who take notes during class using laptop computers or other electronic screens learn the material less well than those who take notes by hand. Computerized notes tempt students to try to take dictation during class rather than to try to process the information that they are receiving in class. Computers also present temptations to engage in non-class activities, and notifications of incoming messages can be distracting. Finally, use (and abuse) of computer screens can distract your classmates as well, harming their educations. Consequently, I do not permit students to use laptop computers or other electronic screens in class unless we arrange a specific exception to this policy.

Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities of any kind who may need disability-related classroom accommodations for this course are encouraged to contact Sara Bea Disability Services (<http://sarabeadisabilityservices.nd.edu>). Also, students experiencing mental or physical health challenges that are significantly affecting their academic work are encouraged to contact me and/or to the University Counseling Center in St. Liam Hall (574-631-7336, <http://ucc.nd.edu>).

Readings

I suggest that you purchase one book for this course:

Ian Bremmer, *Superpower: Three Choices for America's Role in the World*, New York: Portfolio/Penguin, 2015.

The book is available at Hammes Bookstore and also from Internet booksellers. All other course readings are available on the Sakai site.

Class Schedule and Reading Assignments by Date

Aug 22 **Introduction to the Course**

Aug 24 **U.S. Wealth and Power**

Bremmer, Introduction and Chapter 1.

Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers in the Twenty-First Century: China's Rise and the Fate of America's Global Position," *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Winter 2015/2016), pp. 7-53.

Aug 29 **Recent American Grand Strategy**

Bremmer, Chapter 2.

Stephen Sestanovich, "The Brilliant Incoherence of Trump's Foreign Policy," *The Atlantic* (May 2017), pp. 92-102.

Aug 31 **No Class (American Political Science Association Conference)**

Sept 5 **The Rise of China**

Howard W. French, "China's Dangerous Game," *The Atlantic* (November 2014).

Oriana Skylar Mastro, "China Can't Stay Home," *The National Interest*, No. 135 (January-February 2015), pp. 38-45.

James Fallows, "China's Great Leap Backward," *The Atlantic* (December 2016), pp. 58-65.

Sept 7 **The Security Dilemma**

Adam P. Liff and G. John Ikenberry, "Racing Toward Tragedy?: China's Rise, Military Competition in the Asia-Pacific, and the Security Dilemma," *International Security*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Fall 2014), pp. 52-91.

Sept 12 **The Ukraine Crisis**

"The February Revolution," *The Economist*, March 1, 2014.

John J. Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions that Provoked Putin," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 93, No. 5 (September / October 2014), pp. 77-89.

Eliot Cohen, "The 'Kind of Thing' Crisis," *The American Interest* (January/February 2015), pp. 6-12.

Sept 14 Spheres of Influence

- Richard K. Betts, "Realism Is an Attitude, Not a Doctrine," *The National Interest*, (September-October 2015).
- Jeremy Shapiro, "Defending the Defensible: The Value of Spheres of Influence in U.S. Foreign Policy," Brookings Institution, March 11, 2015, <http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/order-from-chaos/posts/2015/03/11-defending-indefensible-spheres-of-influence-us-foreign-policy-shapiro>.
- Leslie H. Gelb, "Russia and America: Toward a New Détente," *The National Interest* (July-August 2015).

Sept 19 Climate Change

- Elizabeth Kolbert, "The Weight of the World: Can Christiana Figueres Persuade Humanity to Save Itself?" *The New Yorker*, August 24, 2015, pp. 24-31.
- Brian Deese, "Paris Isn't Burning," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 96, No. 4 (July / August 2017), pp. 83-92.
- Lee Lane, "Toward a Conservative Policy on Climate Change," *The New Atlantis* (Winter 2014), pp. 19-37.

Sept 21 The Logic of Collective Action

- William D. Nordhaus, "A New Solution: The Climate Club," *New York Review of Books*, June 4, 2015.
- David G. Victor, *Global Warming Gridlock: Creating More Effective Strategies for Protecting the Planet* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 203-40.

Sept 26 Cyberwarfare

- Emily Parker, "Hack Job: How America Invented Cyberwarfare," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 96, No. 3 (May / June 2017), pp. 133-38.
- Bruce Schneier, "Why the NSA Makes Us More Vulnerable to Cyberattacks," *Foreign Affairs Online*, May 30, 2017.
- Elias Groll, "Amid Washington Russia Frenzy, Kaspersky Faces Backlash," *Foreign Policy Online*, August 11, 2017.
- Brian R. Moore and Jonathan R. Corrado, "North Korea Proves You Barely Need Computers to Win a Cyberwar," *Foreign Policy Online*, June 5, 2017.

Sept 28 Hegemonic Stability Theory

- Joshua Rovner and Tyler Moore, "Does the Internet Need a Hegemon?" *Journal of Global Security Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (July 2017), pp. 184-203.

Oct 3 Trade Agreements

- Douglas A. Irwin, "The False Promise of Protectionism," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 96, No. 3 (May / June 2017), pp. 45-56.
- Jeff D. Colgan and Robert O. Keohane, "The Liberal Order Is Rigged," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 96, No. 3 (May / June 2017), pp. 36-44.
- Eric Farnsworth, "Mexican Standoff," *National Interest*, No. 146 (November / December 2016), pp. 61-67.

Oct 5 The Logic of Two-Level Games

- Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (Summer 1988), pp. 427-60.

Oct 10 Libya

- Jon Lee Anderson, "The Unravelling: In a Failing State, an Anti-Islamist General Mounts a Divisive Campaign," *The New Yorker* (February 23 and March 2, 2015), pp. 108-18.
- Evan Osnos, "In the Land of the Possible: Samantha Power Has the President's Ear. To What End?" *The New Yorker* (December 22, 2014), pp. 90-107.
- Alan J. Kuperman, "Obama's Libya Debacle: How a Well-Meaning Intervention Ended in Failure," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 94, No. 2 (March/April 2015).

Oct 12 The Responsibility to Protect

- Aidan Hehir, "The Permanence of Inconsistency: Libya, The Security Council, and the Responsibility to Protect," *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Summer 2013), pp. 137-59.

Oct 24 Syria

- Luke Mogelson, "The River Martyrs," *The New Yorker*, April 29, 2013, pp. 40-49.
- Robin Wright, "The Vortex: A Turkish City on the Frontier of Syria's Civil War," *The New Yorker* (December 8, 2014), pp. 32-38.
- Charles Glass, "In the Hellscape of Aleppo," *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 64, No. 9 (May 25, 2017).
- Denis Dragovic and Richard Iron, "Farewell, Syria," *National Interest*, No. 150 (July / August 2017), pp. 62-70.

Oct 26 Coercion (Deterrence and Compellence)

- Barry R. Posen, "Military Responses to Refugee Disasters," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Summer 1996), pp. 72-112.

Oct 31 **Egypt and the Arab Spring**

- Negar Azimi, "Return of the Strongman: How Did Egypt Revert to Dictatorship?" *Harper's*, August, 2014, pp. 37-45.
- Marina Ottaway, "Can Sisi Break Egypt's Cycle of Authoritarianism?" *The National Interest Online*, November 19, 2014, <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/can-sisi-break-egypts-cycle-authoritarianism-11700>.
- Joshua Hammer, "Egypt: The New Dictatorship," *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 64, No. 10 (June 8, 2017).

Nov 2 **Preconditions for Democracy**

- Paul J. Saunders, "Trump and Democracy Promotion," *National Interest*, No. 147 (January / February 2017), pp. 74-78.
- Alexander B. Downes and Jonathan Monten, "Forced to Be Free: Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization," *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Spring 2013), pp. 90-131.

Nov 7 **ISIS**

- Graeme Wood, "What ISIS Really Wants," *The Atlantic* (March 2015), pp. 78-94.
- Peter Beinart, "The Terror Trap," *The Atlantic* (March 2016), pp. 15-17.
- Jytte Klausen, "Terror in the Terror," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 96, No. 5 (September / October 2017), pp. 166-72.
- Anand Gopal, "The Hell After ISIS," *The Atlantic* (May 2016), pp. 78-90.

Nov 9 **Terrorist Groups' Strategies**

- Peter Krause, "When Terrorism Works: Explaining Success and Failure across Varying Targets and Objectives," in Diego Muro, ed., *When Does Terrorism Work?* New York: Routledge, 2017.

Nov 14 **The Nuclear Deal with Iran**

- Robin Wright, "Tehran's Promise: The Revolution's Midlife Crisis and the Nuclear Deal," *The New Yorker* (July 27, 2015), pp. 22-28.
- Jordan Hirsch, "How America Bamboozled Itself About Iran," *Commentary* (April 2015).
- Jessica T. Matthews, "Nuclear Diplomacy? From Iran to North Korea," *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 64, No. 13 (August 17, 2017).

Nov 16 **The Role of Non-Proliferation in U.S. Strategy**

- Francis J. Gavin, "Strategies of Inhibition: U.S. Grand Strategy, the Nuclear Revolution, and Non-Proliferation," *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Summer 2015), pp. 9-46.

Nov 21 **Is Grand Strategy Possible?**

David M. Edelstein and Ronald R. Krebs, "Delusions of Grand Strategy: The Problem with Washington's Planning Obsession," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 94, No. 6 (November / December 2015), pp. 109-16.

Hal Brands, *The Promise and Pitfalls of Grand Strategy*, U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, August, 2012.

Nov 28 **Strategy of Restraint**

Bremmer, Chapter 3

Eugene Gholtz, Daryl G. Press, and Harvey M. Sapolsky, "Come Home America: The Strategy of Restraint in the Face of Temptation," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Spring 1997), pp. 5-48.

Nov 30 **Strategy of Deep Engagement**

Bremmer, Chapter 4

Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, *America Abroad: The United States Global Role in the 21st Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 71-102.

Dec 5 **Strategy of Conservative Internationalism**

Bremmer, Chapter 5

Paul D. Miller, "American Power and Liberal Order," *The National Interest*, September 14, 2016 (excerpted from Paul D. Miller, *American Power and Liberal Order: A Conservative Internationalist Grand Strategy*, Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2016).

Kori Schake, "Will Washington Abandon the Order?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 96, No. 1 (January / February 2017), pp. 41-46.

Dec 7 **Debating U.S. Strategy**

Bremmer, Chapter 6.

Ionut C. Popescu, "Grand Strategy versus Emergent Strategy in the Conduct of Foreign Policy," *Journal of Strategic Studies* (advance online publication February 2017).