

- Gartzke, Erik (2007) "The Capitalist Peace" *AJPS* 51(1) 166-191. (available online)
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To be continued. This is about mid-semester. By this time we should take stock of where we've been intellectually and decide together where we'd like to go. Last semester in a political leadership class I suggested the use of a decision aid, "Superdecisions," designed by Prof. Thomas Saaty at the University of Pittsburgh (www.superdecisions.com). He has a number of texts on both the methodology and application of the approach he takes, with a number of examples of foreign policy. In a conversation with me, he told me he had been involved in persuading Sadat to go the Camp David, for instance, employing the logic of the methodology now embedded in that program. We might want to work as a class project on designing a number of alternative futures for foreign policies in different areas, drawing on the thinking of American scholars, analysts, and practitioners. Problems to focus on and logically reconstruct around: political stability, energy, population demographics and migration, economic growth and interdependence, climate and environmental problems, nuclear proliferation and terrorism, to name some of the more obvious. Then there are problems relating to American power, prosperity, security and principles (e.g., democratic development). I invite you to think ahead as we review the literature in the first six weeks, to develop some ideas that we could work on as a class project.

may say more about the myopia induced by a century of warfare involving the USA practically continuously through the 20th Century, not to mention our own.

Fourth Week: Grand Strategy and the Military Strategic Environment: Theory and Practice

Research in grand strategy is another enormous field. I've selected a few works which attempt to take long range thinking to two levels, grand strategy and possible impacts of grand strategy.

- "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America"
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>
- Ullman, Harlan K., and James P. Wade (1996) *Shock and Awe: Achieving Rapid Dominance*. NDU Press. Online downloadable text available at
<http://www.ndu.edu/inss/books/books - 1996/Shock and Awe - Dec 96/>
- Carter, Jimmy (2007) *Palestine Peace Not Apartheid*. Simon and Schuster. ISBN-13: 978-0743285032
- Barnett, Thomas P.M. (2004) *The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century*. Berkeley.

A sample of useful websites:

- Center for Defense Information <http://www.cdi.org/>
- The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists
- Project on Defense Alternatives <http://www.comw.org/pda/about.html> (headed by Carl Connetta and Charles Knight) – provides a "progressive" source of critical analysis of defense policy)

The first is the official, current national security strategy, the second the general RMA (revolution in military affairs) exemplified by the "shock and awe" doctrine taught at National Defense University, the third a detailed discussion of "gap countries" in strategic thinking, the fourth a critique of existing Mideast policy with a focus on Palestine and Israel. Following these are a few of the many websites that deal with these and related issues of American foreign policy (nuclear strategy, outer space, and the use of coercive force generally).

Fifth Week: Historical Assessments of American Foreign Policies (continued)

The titles are more or less self-explanatory. Pick one or two to read and discuss in class.

- Mearsheimer, John J. (2003) *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. Norton.
- Mandelbaum, *The Case for Goliath: How America Acts As the World's Government in the Twenty-first Century* (2006)
- Tammen Ronald L., and Jacek Kugler, Douglas Lemke, Carole Alsharabati, and Brian Efirid (Eds.) (2000) *Power Transitions: Strategies for the 21st Century*. Seven Bridges Press.
- Thatcher, Margaret (2003) *Statecraft: Strategies for a Changing World*. Harper.

Constructively critical; positive evaluational; objective theoretical, historical and quantitative research; and proactive, evaluative approaches to evaluating foreign policy are represented by these texts.

Sixth Week: Non-traditional Issues in American Foreign Policy Theory and Analysis

We touched briefly in the third week on one of these issues: environmental sustainability. However, there are many others. Here is a sample:

- Deneen, Patrick (2005) *Democratic Faith*. Princeton.
- Mandelbaum, Michael (2004) *The Ideas That Conquered the World: Peace, Democracy, and Free Markets in the Twenty-First Century*. PublicAffairs reprint edition. (ISBN-13: 978-1586482060)

We can use it to raise a variety of questions concerning everything from worldviews to practical knowledge. *Read as much of this text as you can (or as much of it as you find covering unfamiliar material) for discussion the first week of class, and for your first report.* Alternatively, you may use my undergraduate (Pols. 322) foreign policy text, Jentelson's *American Foreign Policy*, 3rd edition. In either case, think about the variety of attitudes and explanatory constructs applied to foreign policy in general and American foreign policy in particular. The Jentelson and Spanier contexts are a case in point.

Second Week: Wrestling with American Power: Problems and Practices with Decision Making Grand and Pedestrian

We will then look at several examples of detailed, historical American foreign policy practices and the contexts in which they occur. Since we will focus on current policy later in the course, I've chosen two books that show the functioning of foreign policy in the contexts of two great historical conflicts during the Cold War, both about US-Soviet relations:

- Allison, Graham T., and Philip Zelikow (1971, 1999) *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* 2nd edition. Longman. ISBN-13: 978-0321013491
- Schecter, Jerrold, and Leona Schecter (2003) *Sacred Secrets: How Soviet Intelligence Operations Changed American History*. Potomac Books. ISBN-13: 978-1574885224

The first is about crisis decision making in the White House, the second delves into the nuts and bolts of espionage as an integral part of foreign policy. These are assigned for both historical context and to raise issues regarding just why American foreign policy philosophy and theory are in their current state of controversy (the Schecters, for instance, comment on the implications of their research for the current "war against terrorism").

Note: texts below should be ordered by you from discount dealers such as amazon.com. Generally, pick at least one from the list to read each week and about which to write your weekly commentary. If you know of some that are similar in general subject matter, by all means suggest it to us as another alternative.

Third Week: A Sampling of Critical Appraisals

Some of you may be more interested in American foreign policy that is more directly related to smaller Asian, African, and Latin American states. Some may be more interested in state-corporation relations (states as tools of corporate interests and vice versa). There is a vast and controversial literature in these areas as well. Here is a small sample of very different critical appraisals of current American foreign policy. First, from a state centric, realist perspective,

- Walt, Stephen M. (2005) *Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy*. Norton. ISBN-13: 978-0393329193.

A radically different perspective on taming American power, one focused on global policies dominated by the USA, addresses environmental sustainability in very specific terms based not on the case study approach but rather on quantitative analyses at a global scale for over thirty years.

- Meadows, Donella, Jorgen Randers, and Dennis Meadows (2004) *Limits to Growth: the 30-Year Update*. Chelsea Green. ISBN-13: 978-1931498586

Here's a website that deals with related issues.

- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change <http://www.ipcc.ch/>

This Meadows text, while not particularly "quantitative" itself, is based on a global model that has been developed and updated since the early 1970s (and which is available for use!). Its authors raise a fundamental issue regarding the limitations not only of myopic American foreign policy but of corporate politics and influence on global politics in general. Generally, such analyses are traditionally considered well outside the scope of foreign policy decision making research, which

Pols. 730: International Relations Seminar: Foreign Policy Theory, Practice and Research
T 5:30-8:00 p.m. BusAd D-102

Prof. Chadwick

Office: Saunders 619, hours: Fall semester, 1:00-5:00 p.m.

Email: Chadwick@Hawaii.edu

Phone/voicemail: 956-7180

Published description: "Pre-announced problems of both international organization and politics. *Repeatable*. At least one section a semester."

Note: all of the texts cited below may be purchased via Internet booksellers such as amazon.com, usually at deeply discounted prices. I suggest you order your own copies. You will usually have a choice of alternative readings for class discussion. The number of texts we will review is too large to order in small quantities for the bookstore.

Texts ordered for UH Bookstore (used first two weeks of class):

- Hook, Steven W., and John Spanier (2006) *American Foreign Policy since World War II*. 17th edition. . ISBN-13: 978-1933116716
- Allison, Graham T., and Philip Zelikow (1971, 1999) *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* 2nd edition. Longman. ISBN-13: 978-0321013491
- Schecter, Jerrold, and Leona Schecter (2003) *Sacred Secrets: How Soviet Intelligence Operations Changed American History*. Potomac Books. ISBN-13: 978-1574885224

This fall semester, this seminar will focus on the study and practice of American foreign policy from a variety of perspectives, those of applied research offering guidance concerning achieving goals and objectives, scientific research offering insights into how foreign policy decision making takes place and factors that shape world views and situational perceptions, and philosophical research offering insights into constructing alternative futures, alternatives to existing systems, value frameworks, and paths to enlightenment. One caveat: this field is extremely well populated with histories, analyses, and commentaries, theories, data collections, and philosophical orientations. You should expect, therefore, considerable challenge to your own worldviews, what and even how to study this material, and with what orientation (e.g., critical, constructivist, and so on).

Expectations: read one or more books/week, selecting from those referenced below. Write a commentary discussing some key ideas and your reactions (about 3-5 pages). Key questions to raise may range from the methodological to substantive, from theory to practice and particular foreign policies; your approach may be historical, scientific, or philosophical in one or more critical thinking perspectives. A final paper on some subject related to American foreign policy will be due the last day of class (about 15-20 pages). Drafts for review will be accepted two weeks before the last week. My comments on your papers will be emailed to you during the winter break. The paper itself may incorporate some of the writing you did during the course of the semester. It may also be part of a Masters or Ph.D. thesis or thesis proposal, or serve as part of your MA "capstone" presentation. Since this is a 7x0 seminar, you should not expect a great deal of lecturing; seminars are intended to be enlightening conversations based on preparation (our reading and writing prior to class). Finally, to get the most out of me and your fellow students, it would be useful to get your written comments on the reading(s) prior to our class meeting, via email.

First Week: Getting Started: an Overview

Because students taking this course will undoubtedly be coming with a wide variety of cultures, careers, interests and preparation, I've chosen a revision of a classic text to start us off. Read it to fill in gaps in your preparation and to help set a context for initial discussions in class.

- Hook, Steven W., and John Spanier (2006) *American Foreign Policy since World War II*. 16th Ed. CQ Press. ISBN-13: 978-1933116716