

P.S. 375 Great Powers Prof. Frank Wayman
Fall 2010, TTh 11:30-12:45 2195 SSB
Office Hrs.: Tues.&Thurs. 12:50-1:45 PM, 5:50-6:10 PM 2164 SSB
phone 593-5226; 593-5096 for messages 100810 1600
e-mail: fwayman@umd.umich.edu
website: <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~fwayman>

P.S. 375 is concerned with the struggle for world supremacy among the great powers. This includes both the decisions of foreign policy decision makers, and the policies that produce the underlying economic and military strength of a nation.

Part I. Theory and History of Great Power Interaction

The course begins with an historical examination of the struggle for world supremacy since the Renaissance. Based on Paul Kennedy's best-seller, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, we will consider the thesis that economic strength is the primary basis of national supremacy, but that dominant powers in economic decline resort to military exploits that only further undermine their economic position. Will the two twentieth century superpowers, Russia and the U.S., avoid this fate or decline like their predecessors? Why couldn't Gorbachev, who cut the Russian military back, revive the Russian economy quickly? Is the U.S. declining?

We will study at length Mearsheimer's *Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, which presents a neo-realist theory of how great powers interact, and we will examine the evidence concerning power shifts, polarity, and war, starting from the list of great powers and consideration of their wars in Levy's *War in the Modern Great Power System, 1495-1975*.

Part II. The Economic Struggle for Power

Our next focus is how America can strengthen its economy and remain number one in the post-Cold War world. We will read portions of Lester Thurow's *Head to Head*, and consider the validity of his proposals for strengthening the U.S. Many of the themes of Kennedy and Thurow were echoed in the national policy debates of the 1990s: Perot campaign, Clinton-Gore, and Gingrich's contract with America. We will discuss the political implications of these ideas about national revival and global competition. Robert Reich, Clinton's Secretary of Labor, wrote *The Work of Nations*, analyzing the class struggle in the new world order. We will consider the writings of Reich, of the German author Erich Weede (*Economic Development, Social Order, and World Politics*), and of pollster Ronald Inglehart ("Clash of Civilizations or Global Cultural Modernization: Empirical Evidence from 61 Societies" [Intl. Soc. Assn., Montréal Aug. 1998]). Our main reading in this section of the course will be the updated edition of Thomas Friedman's *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, in which Friedman discusses the current globalized world economy, which offers nations and people the chance to have a Lexus if they chart their course well and choose peace. My impression of the 2008 Presidential campaign so far is that these issues have not gone away, but 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 every year thereafter).

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.

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 32 percent of the course grade). No make-up exams will be permitted without documentation of medical exigency (e.g., a physician's note). There may be occasional quizzes, each counting one to five percent of

the grade (these percentages would be taken out of the weight of the three exams). 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.

Use of laptop computers and cell phones is not permitted in class.

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.

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

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.

Joseph Nye, *Paradox of American Power*. Oxford U. Press, 2003. 258 pp.

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.

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): 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 in 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.

ON E-MAIL ETIQUETTE:

While e-mail has become a very important means of communication between students and faculty, it is important 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. I also do not open e-mail attachments. This means 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. Please respect these norms of mine if you wish to contact me, and I look forward to hearing from you.

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. 15th: Kennedy, *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (N.Y.: Random House, 1987), course pack, 72 pages.

By Sept. 22nd: Mearsheimer, *Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, front cover to page 100.

By Sept. 29th: Mearsheimer, pp. 101-200.

By Oct. 6th: Mearsheimer, pp. 201-300.
Course pack, Wayman, "Power Shifts and War."

By Oct. 13th: Mearsheimer, rest of book.

-- THE FIRST EXAM WILL BE ON TUES., OCT. 13TH --
THE EXAM WILL COVER ALL MATERIAL IN PART I.

II. THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE FOR POWER

By Oct. 20th: Thurow, Weede, and Reich in course pack:

Lester Thurow, *Head to Head* (N.Y.: William Morrow, 1992), excerpts (pp. 27-55, 259-286).

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.

By Oct. 27th: 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 Nov. 3rd: Friedman, *Lexus and Olive Tree*, chs. 12 (Golden Arches), 14 (Winners Take All), 18 (Revolution in the U.S.)

By Nov. 10th: 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 TUES., NOV. 16TH --
THE EXAM WILL COVER ALL MATERIAL IN PART II.

III. CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN FOREIGN POLICY

By Nov. 17th: Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power*, pp. 1-103.

By Nov. 24th: Kagan, pp. 104-158. Joseph Nye, *Paradox of American Power*, pp. 1-100.

Note: THANKSGIVING IS NOV. 26TH, THANKSGIVING VACATION IS NOV. 26-29TH

By Dec. 1st: Joseph Nye, *Paradox of American Power*, pp. 100-end.

By Dec. 8th: 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. 15th:

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. 17 TH, 11:30 AM-12:30 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.

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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.

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?

2. 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?

3. What patterns of political violence can a great power expect? 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 AN EXAM QUESTION LIKE THIS, DRAWN FROM KENNEDY AND OUR CLASS LECTURES AND DISCUSSION, ON A FUTURE EXAM:

4. If you were running one of the campaigns for president in 2004, 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 2008, 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?
4. If you were running one of the campaigns for president in 2008, 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?