

Political Science 189.09
Topics in International Relations
Seminar: REALISM AND U.S. GRAND STRATEGY
Spring 2012

<http://researchguides.library.tufts.edu.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/PoliticalScience189.09>

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Packard Hall 112
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Block 6: Tues. 1-30-4:00 p.m.
Office Hours: Mon. 10:00-12:00 pm
Or by appointment

Overview

This seminar examines major turning points in the grand strategy of the United States since World War II through lenses of competing theories and ideologies: neoclassical realism, structural realism (or neorealism), liberal internationalism, liberal democratic peace theory, constructivism, and neo-conservatism. We will debate whether relative power, institutions, American exceptionalism, or strategic culture actively drive (or ought to drive) U.S. foreign and national security policies. Topics include: U.S. entry into World War II; origins of the Cold War and containment; the Vietnam War; the Bush Doctrine and the “war on terrorism”; and some of the national security challenges facing the Obama administration, including Iran’s nuclear program, the rise of China, the endgame for the Afghanistan war, and future of U.S. alliances and defense posture.

Prerequisites

PS 61: Introduction to International Relations

TRUNK <http://Trunk.tufts.edu>

This course makes extensive use Trunk, the new Sakai-based learning management platform for the Schools of Arts & Sciences, Engineering, and the Fletcher School. Your Trunk username and password are the same as those for your Tufts University email account.

You must submit all written assignments to the Assignment area of the Trunk site as Microsoft Word files by the deadlines on the last page of this syllabus. *I do not accept paper copies or email copies of assignments. I do not accept file formats other than MS Word. There are no exceptions. Please plan accordingly.*

Readings

There are three required books available for purchase at the Tufts University Bookstore in the Mayer Campus Center. You can also purchase paperback or electronic copies on Amazon.com or BarnesandNoble.com at a discount. The titles are also on three-hour reserve at Tisch Library.

- Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, *World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008) ISBN 978-0-691-13784-1
- Colin Dueck, *Reluctant Crusaders: Power, Culture, and Change in American Grand Strategy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006) ISBN: 0-691-12463-9
- Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, Eds. *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) ISBN 0-52-173192-5

There are additional readings from scholarly and policy journals. You can access these articles in the Resources area of the Trunk site. There are stable hyperlinks to various electronic journals to which the Tufts University Libraries subscribe. Most of the articles are available as *.pdf files.

I have deliberately selected readings with conflicting interpretations and arguments regarding historical events and current policy issues. It is very important that you read **actively** and **critically**, not passively. You will quickly discover that there is no one "truth" or single correct answer in the subject matter.

REQUIREMENTS

The requirements for this seminar are:

- Class Participation (10%, ongoing assessment)
- Two Response Papers and Sets of Discussion Questions (10% each, 20% total)
- Research Paper of 15 to 20 pages (70% total, submitted in three parts)
 - Research puzzle/question statement and annotated bibliography (10%)
 - Summary introduction and theory section (15%)
 - Completed research paper (45%)

CLASS PARTICIPATION (10%)

In a research seminar, students learn from one another, as well as from the professor.

- Your regular attendance is critical to the success of this seminar, since it only meets once a week. I expect you to attend every scheduled class meeting. Please do not schedule interviews, athletic events, or extracurricular events during Block 6. If you miss more than two scheduled class meetings without a documented medical excuse (see below), you will earn a zero for class participation. There are no exceptions.
- It is essential that you come to class prepared to discuss the assigned readings. The reading assignments for this seminar are substantial. You should expect to read between 100 and 150 pages per week.
- Contributing to class discussions will help your grade, but dominating class discussions will not.
- Remember, reasonable people may interpret the same evidence in different ways. Arguments not based upon evidence, however, will not present a compelling case.
- Be courteous and respect the opinions of your classmates. While spirited debate on the issues is part of the learning process, there is no room for discourteous discourse or personal attacks on anyone in the class.
- Please do not change the discussion topic until you are sure that your classmates no longer have something to say on the current topic.

RESPONSE PAPERS AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS (20% in total, 10% each)

Over the course of the semester, each student will write two weekly response papers and sets of discussion questions. You can find the guidelines for writing response papers and questions on the Forum of the Trunk site. Please read the guidelines before you write the critique and questions.

- **Response Papers** are to address the week's reading; to compare and contrast them; to discuss how they fit together or disagree; and to give us fodder for discussion by making provocative

argument about them. *Response papers should never simply summarize the readings.* They should not exceed 500 words (or the equivalent of three pages double-spaced).

- **Discussion Questions** should consist of three thought-provoking queries presented separately from the response paper, although they may refer to issues raised in the paper. They should not be factual, but rather theoretical or normative. You may ask empirical (factual) questions to the extent they involve evidence presented in the assigned article or book (e.g., Does the empirical evidence support the theory?).

Response papers and questions are due by **5 p.m. on Sunday**. You should post them on the Forum of the Trunk site as MS Word files. I expect everyone to read the questions and the critiques before class.

THE RESEARCH PAPER (70% in total)

This course requires an original research paper of 15-20 pages (double-spaced). You will submit this paper in three stages, with each stage building upon the previous one. You can find memos on how to prepare each part, as well as the grading guidelines for the research paper as a whole, in the Resources area of the Trunk site:

1. *Research Puzzle Statement and Annotated Bibliography (10%)*: This assignment calls upon you to develop a tentative research puzzle (or question) and to explore the scholarly literature pertinent to that topic. *Your research puzzle (or question) must pertain to some aspect of the grand strategy of the United States (past or present) or to the foreign and security policies that the U.S. has pursued (or currently pursues) toward a particular country or region.* Please note that your research puzzle or question, as well as your bibliography, will likely evolve as you do more research. This assignment should be 1 to 2 pages (single-spaced).
2. *Summary Introduction and Theoretical Section of the Paper (15%)*: In the introduction, you state the research puzzle, briefly discuss why the puzzle arises, and identify candidate theories from which you might derive two competing hypotheses. In the theoretical section, you briefly discuss the literature that from which you derive your hypotheses, the types of evidence that would confirm or disconfirm each hypothesis. This assignment should be 5 to 6 pages (double-spaced).
3. *Completed Research Paper (45%)*: The completed research paper should build upon the work done on the previous two assignments. The paper will consist of four sections: the introduction, theoretical section, empirical section, and conclusion. Your main task in the empirical section is to evaluate the evidence you have gathered and reach a conclusion about which of the two rival hypotheses provides the better explanation for your puzzle. The complete research paper should be 15 to 20 pages (double-spaced), inclusive of the cover page, the text of the paper itself, and all footnotes or endnotes.

Format for the Research Paper Components

Only MS Word files are acceptable. Please use the following naming conventions for your files <Your Last Name_ Your First Name _Assignment Name.doc>. This enables me to keep track of student submissions and to grade them more efficiently. Below are some examples of appropriate file names:

- Tufts_Charles_ResearchPuzzle.docx
- Jackson_Cornelia_SummaryIntro.doc

- Ballou_Hosea_ResearchPaper.docx

You must use an 11-point or a 12-point font for the text of each portion of the research paper, although you may use smaller fonts for the footnotes or endnotes. Please make sure your paper has 1" margins on all sides. You should include a separate cover sheet with your name, the paper's title, and the date of submission. Papers over the 20-page limit will incur a grade penalty.

All components of the research paper should adhere to the grammatical and syntax rules of standard written English. You must use footnotes or endnotes to document all quotations, paraphrases, statements of fact, and the work of other authors. You should adhere to the footnote or endnote format set forth in the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 16th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011). There is a link to the online version of the *Chicago Manual of Style* under the "Citations Help" tab of the Library Research Guide. When in doubt, simply follow the footnote or endnote format in any of the required books or articles for the course.

UNIVERSITY AND CLASS POLICIES

Late Assignment Policy

- *All late submissions incur a penalty of 10% (i.e., a letter grade) per each day or portion thereof after the deadline.* This means, an assignment submitted anywhere from one hour to one day late that might otherwise have earned a 90 (A-), will instead earn an 80 (B-). If the same assignment were two days late, it would earn a 70 (C-). Any assignment submitted five or more days after the deadline automatically earns a 50 or lower (F). Trunk automatically time stamps all submissions. This enables me to see who has or has not submitted an assignment on time.
- It is your responsibility to upload your assignments as MS Word files (with the correct naming format) to the Assignment Area (in the case of research paper components) or the Forum (in the case of response papers and questions) of PS 189.04 Trunk. The instructions for uploading assignments are self-explanatory. It is not my responsibility to provide technical support. Again, I do not accept assignments submitted via email or in hard copy under any circumstances.
- Only students with legitimate and documented excuses are exempt from the late penalties. There are only three legitimate excuses:
 - A serious illness or medical emergency that requires you to receive immediate medical attention, or
 - Bereavement (e.g., the death of a parent, a stepparent, a sibling, or another close relative), or
 - A life threatening illness in your immediate family
- The deadlines are final and non-negotiable. Under no conditions can I grant an extension or move assignment due dates because you are "stressed out" or because you have other commitments (e.g. demands of other classes, due dates of other assignments, job interviews, athletic competitions, EPIIC, ALLIES, or other extracurricular activities).
- Please remember that I am stringent in enforcing deadlines to reward the overwhelming majority of students who submit assignments on time. I must be fair to your classmates, who may have similar or worse time constraints than you, and yet turn in assignments on time.

Illness Policy

- Tufts Health Service has created a new web-based mechanism for students to report an illness to their instructors. Students can access this form through Web Center for Students

<<http://uss.tufts.edu/registrar/Webcenter.asp>>, and are able to email the professor a *.pdf file if they expect to miss class or class assignments due to illness. Students are still required to provide medical documentation from Health Service or other medical provider information if the student is too ill to take an in-class mid-term or in-class final examination.

- In cases of bereavement or family emergencies, students should speak to their dean (i.e., associate dean of undergraduate education) to obtain documentation. The dean will contact the students' professors and academic advisor to request extensions on papers or rescheduling of exams.
- Remember, each student is responsible for sending the health notification to his/her professors via Web Center for Students or for obtaining a dean's excuse in a timely fashion. *A timely fashion means in a day or two, not several weeks later or at the end of the semester.*

Academic Integrity

- You should be familiar with the guidelines for academic integrity in [Academic Integrity @Tufts](#).
- Your research paper must use footnotes or endnotes to document all direct quotations, paraphrases, statements of fact, and the work of other authors. Research papers that lack footnotes (or endnotes), or that only cite websites of dubious quality (e.g., Wikipedia, blogs, etc.), class notes, readings assigned for the course, or that demonstrate no evidence of actual research will automatically earn a failing grade.
- Academic dishonesty includes, but is not limited to, the following: buying papers; borrowing papers; lending papers (or parts of papers) to other students; submitting the same assignment for two different classes without the express permission of both instructors; plagiarism, defined as quoting material from other sources without using quotation marks or paraphrasing materials without proper citation; and uploading corrupted files to Trunk;
- Please do not put your entire academic career at risk for the sake of a better grade. The penalties for academic dishonesty are severe. I check all research papers for plagiarized materials using "Turn-it-In." If that scan reveals substantially evidence of plagiarism, you will receive a failing grade for the research paper, and thus for this course.
- The Schools of Arts & Sciences and Engineering now require professors to report all cases where there is substantial evidence of academic dishonesty to the Dean of Student Affairs for further investigation and possible disciplinary action.

Grading Standards

- There is no grade curve in this class. All excellent work will earn an A (90-99%); all meritorious work will earn a B (80-89%); work without any marked merit or defect will earn a C (70-79%); and all unsatisfactory or mediocre work will earn a D (60-69%). Abysmal, incompetent, or non-existent work will earn an F (59% or lower). These are the standards set in the [Bulletin of Tufts University: School of Arts & Sciences and School of Engineering](#).
- PLEASE DO NOT attempt to bargain, negotiate, or plead for a higher grade. Please do not ask others to bargain, negotiate, or plead grades on your behalf. The grading rubrics appear on Trunk. Please remember, that in the interest of fairness to everyone, I evaluate all work according to these guidelines.
- Remember, I can only evaluate the work submitted to me. I cannot grade the amount of "effort" you put into an assignment or an exam. Under no circumstances can I award "extra credit." There will be

no opportunities to "do over" any portion of the research paper. Remember, I must hold all students to the same standards and I have limited time to grade student assignments.

- The AS&E Grade Finality Policy states: "Effective education requires timely and objective evaluation of students' academic work, using clear, standard, fair and public criteria. Such standards should be in the course syllabus. While criteria differ across disciplines and faculty, and while the ultimate responsibility for setting standards and evaluating performance rests with departments and individual faculty, submitted grades are final and not subject to negotiation."

E-mail Etiquette

- If you need to send me e-mail, then please confine your messages to brief questions that require "yes" or "no" answers or that I can answer in a sentence or two. Please make sure that you send email from your Tufts University account or another account that has your full name in the sender's address.
- **IMPORTANT**: Again, I cannot provide technical support for Trunk, MS Word, or any other software program or web-based platform. I will not reply to email asking for such assistance. You should direct all technical support questions to the ITS Help Desk.
- Please ask substantive or lengthy questions in class, after class, during office hours, or during a scheduled appointment, not via e-mail. Email is not a good vehicle to ask or answer detailed questions or to have extended conversations. I cannot provide commentary on draft assignments via e-mail. I do not discuss grades over email.
- Please remember that I have other teaching and research responsibilities, as well as a life away from Tufts University. I do not check my university e-mail account after normal business hours (8 a.m. to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday) or on weekends. This means, if you send me e-mail at 3 AM on Sunday, I will not read it until Monday morning. I do not reply to messages sent to my Tufts University e-mail during university vacations.

RESOURCES FOR STUDENTS

Academic Resources Center, ESL Students, and Students with Disabilities: I want all students to be able to participate fully in this class.

- If English is not your first language or you are not proficient in standard written English, please seek assistance at the Academic Resource Center (ARC) in Dowling Hall. The ARC offers *free* peer tutoring, help with writing, and workshops on efficient reading, note taking, and time management.
- The ARC provides services for students with *physical and/or learning disabilities*. If you have a documented disability that may affect your participation and wish to discuss accommodations, please contact Sandra Baer, the program director for disabilities services, at (617) 627-1571 or Sandra.Baer@tufts.edu, as soon as possible. The ARC and I will work with you to arrange reasonable accommodations.
- Please remember that if you have a learning or physical disability, it is your responsibility to register with the ARC at the beginning of the semester. The ARC and I cannot work with you to arrange reasonable accommodations if we do not know you have a disability.

SCHEDULE OF READINGS AND DISCUSSION TOPICS

I will try hard to maintain the following schedule of readings and discussion topics. However, we may need to make changes in light of current events, snow days, or because we spend more time on a particular topic that I had anticipated. You can find any updates on Trunk. I will also make an announcement in class. Please treat the on-line syllabus as the most recent and definitive version.

Part I: Defining Realism and U.S. Grand Strategy

24 January: Introductory Meeting

31 January: Neoclassical Realism—International and Domestic Constraints on U.S. Grand Strategy

Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Steven E. Lobell, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy," in *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, pp. 1-41 (Chapter 1).

Dueck, *Reluctant Crusader*, pp. 1-43 (Chapters 1 and 2).

Brooks and Wohlforth, *World Out of Balance*, pp. 1-22 (Chapter 1).

7 February: Balancing Power and Principle in U.S. Grand Strategy

Brooks and Wohlforth, *World Out of Balance*, pp. 171-207 (Chapter 7).

Jon Western and Joshua S. Goldstein, "Humanitarian Intervention Comes of Age: Lessons from Somalia to Libya," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 6 (2011), pp. 48-59. Available on ProQuest:

<http://ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/900490451?accountid=14434>

Benjamin A. Valentino, "The True Costs of Humanitarian Intervention: The Hard Truth About a Noble Notion," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 6 (2011), pp. 60-73. Available on ProQuest: <http://ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/900490454?accountid=14434>

14 February: Doing Research on U.S. Grand Strategy—Some Tips from a Librarian

There will be no readings, discussion questions, or critiques due this week. Class will meet in the Electronic Resources Room (ERC) in the Tisch Library (next to the Tower Café) at 2:30 p.m.

Connie Reik, a reference librarian and the coordinator of government resources at Tisch Library, will join our class to discuss various online and print resources for your research papers. *Please bring a hard copy of the Research Puzzle and Annotated Bibliography Assignment sheet with you.*

Part II: Patterns of U.S. Grand Strategic Adjustment: What Does The Past Teach Us?

21 February: Evolution of U.S. Grand Strategy between the World Wars (1919-1940)

Dueck, *Reluctant Crusaders*, pp. 44-81 (Chapter 3).

John A. Thompson, "Conceptions of National Security and American Entry into World War II," *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (2005): 671-97. Available on Taylor and Francis Online: <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/10.1080/09592290500331006>

28 February: Origins of Cold War Grand Strategy—Containment and its Alternatives

Dueck, *Reluctant Crusaders*, pp. 82-113 (Chapter 4).

Marc Trachtenberg, "Preventive War in U.S. Foreign Policy," *Security Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (2007): 1-31. Available on Taylor and Francis Online: <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/10.1080/09636410701304523>

Colin Dueck, "Neoclassical Realism and the National Interests: Presidents, Domestic Politics, and Major Military Interventions " in *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, pp. 170-204 (Chapter 5).

6 March: 9/11 Attacks, the Bush Doctrine, and the Iraq War (2001-2009)

Dueck, *Reluctant Crusaders*, pp. 146-179 (Conclusion).

Brooks and Wohlforth, *World out of Balance*, pp. 60-97 (Chapter 3).

Brian C. Schmidt and Michael C. Williams, "The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War: Neoconservatives versus Realists," *Security Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (2008): 191-220. Available on Taylor and Francis Online: <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/10.1080/09636410802098990>

Part III: Some Current Challenges for the United States

13 March: Ending the War in Afghanistan, Dealing with Pakistan, and the Future of U.S. Alliances

David M. Abshire and Ryan Browne, "The Missing Endgame for Afghanistan: A Sustainable Post-Bin Laden Strategy," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (2011), pp. 59-72. Available on Taylor and Francis Online: <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/10.1080/0163660x.2011.609385>

Alexander Mattelaer, "How Afghanistan Has Strengthened NATO," *Survival*, Vol. 53, No. 6 (2011), pp. 127-140. Available on Taylor and Francis Online: <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/10.1080/00396338.2011.636517>

Stephen D. Krasner, "Talking Tough to Pakistan: How to End Islamabad's Defiance," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 1 (2012), pp. 87-96. Available on ProQuest: <http://ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/912658311?accountid=14434>

17-26 March: SPRING RECESS**27 March: Confronting Iran's Nuclear Program and Regional Ambitions**

James Dobbins, "Coping with a Nuclearising Iran," *Survival*, Vol. 53, No. 6 (2011), pp. 37-50.

Available on Taylor and Francis Online:

<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/10.1080/00396338.2011.636513>

Kenneth M. Pollack, and Ray Takeyh, "Doubling Down on Iran," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (2011), pp. 7-21. Available on Taylor and Francis Online:

<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/10.1080/0163660x.2011.608334>

Caitlin Talmadge, "Closing Time: Assessing the Iranian Threat to the Strait of Hormuz," *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (2008), pp. 82-117. Available at MIT Press Journals:

<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/10.1162/isec.2008.33.1.82>

3 April: No class meeting**10 April: The Rise of China and the Relative Decline of the United States?**

Brooks and Wohlforth, *World Out of Balance*, pp. 22-59 (Chapter 2).

Christian Le Mièrè, "The Return of Gunboat Diplomacy," *Survival*, Vol. 53, No. 5 (2011), pp. 53-68. Available on Taylor and Francis Online:

<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/10.1080/00396338.2011.621634>

Sarah Raine, "Beijing's South China Sea Debate," *Survival*, Vol. 53, No. 5 (2011), pp. 69-88.

Available on Taylor and Francis Online:

<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/10.1080/00396338.2011.621633>

17 April: Alternative Grand Strategies and Defense Postures for the 2010s

Joseph M. Parent, and Paul K. MacDonald, "The Wisdom of Retrenchment: America Must Cut Back to Move Forward," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 6 (2011), pp. 32-47. Available on ProQuest:

<http://ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/900490463?accountid=14434>

Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Balancing the East, Upgrading the West: U.S. Grand Strategy in an Age of Upheaval," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 1 (2012), pp. 97-104. Available on ProQuest:

<http://ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/912658310?accountid=14434>

Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense* (Washington, DC: GPO, 2012), 16 pages. Available on the Department of Defense website: www.defense.gov/news/Defense_Strategic_Guidance.pdf

24 April: Future of U.S. Grand Strategy, Unipolarity, and Realist Theories?

Brooks and Wohlforth, *World Out of Balance*, pp. 208-218 (Chapter 7).

Nuno P. Monteiro, "Unrest Assured: Why Unipolarity Is Not Peaceful," *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (2011), pp. 9-40. Available on MIT Press Journals:

https://www.library.tufts.edu/ezproxy/ezproxy.asp?LOCATION=http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00064

Norrin M. Ripsman, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, and Steven E. Lobell, "Conclusion: The State of Neoclassical Realism," in *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, pp. 280-299.

Calendar of Due Dates (spring 2012)	
Every Sunday	Critiques and discussion questions are due by 5 p.m. in the Forum area of Trunk. Please post them as MS Word files to the appropriate forum for that week.
Fri. 24 Feb.	Research puzzle/question and annotated bibliography due by 12 p.m.
Fri. 30 March	Summary introduction and theory section due by 12 p.m.
Fri. 4 May	Complete research paper due by 12 p.m.

REMINDER: Under no conditions can I grant an extension or move assignment due dates because you are "stressed out" or because you have other commitments (e.g. demands of other classes, due dates of other assignments, athletic competitions, EPIIC, or extracurricular activities). I have tried to ensure that due dates do not fall on the religious holy days listed on the 2011-2012 Tufts University Academic Calendar <<http://uss.tufts.edu/stuserv/acadcal/>>.