

Dr. Robert Pastor, Professor of International Relations  
School of International Service – Room 311  
Office Hours: Tuesday, Wednesday, 2-5 pm or by appointment: [rpastor@american.edu](mailto:rpastor@american.edu).  
Class: Wednesday, 5:30-8:00 pm, Class Room: EQB 203

## **MAJOR POWERS and CRITICAL ISSUES SIS-653 - Spring 2012**

**1. Description.** The major powers do not rule the world in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as they did throughout history, but they continue to exert substantial influence on virtually every critical issue, whether the Middle East conflict; nuclear weapons in Iran and North Korea; war in Afghanistan and Iraq; democratization or terrorism in failing states; or world trade. For the purpose of this course, the "**major**" powers include both "**great**" powers that have permanent seats and veto power on the UN Security Council (U.S., England, France, Russia, and China) and "**middle**" powers that include both advanced countries (Japan, Germany) and emerging developing nations (India, Brazil, South Africa, Iran, Turkey). This course surveys the foreign policy trajectories of many of these states during the last century and then assesses their interaction in addressing contemporary challenges. The framework for describing and explaining a state's foreign policy are also helpful in understanding the policies of emerging powers.

### **2. Course objectives -- This course:**

- Aims to familiarize students with the key concepts of foreign policy, such as power and national interest.
- Surveys the history of the foreign policies of the major powers and how the ends and means of a state's foreign policies evolve.
- Addresses how these powers cooperate and compete through their foreign policies.
- Encourages students to explore the major challenges faced by the United States and other major powers.
- Challenges students to apply what they have learned about major powers to assess the rising impact of middle powers.

### **3. Learning outcomes – By the end of the course, students should learn the following by applying comparative analysis of foreign policies:**

- To understand and apply concepts in the study of foreign policy.
- To know the internal and external factors that explain a nation's foreign policy.
- To learn the history of U.S. foreign policy in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries and theories or ways to interpret both the continuity and changes in U.S. foreign policy.
- To understand how governments make policy and how individuals and groups outside of governments influence policy.
- To learn key events in international relations in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, the essence of the national approaches of the major powers, and the decisions and circumstances that explain conflict and cooperation among major powers.
- To develop and demonstrate skills in analysis, writing, research, and speaking, including writing memoranda for heads of governments.

#### 4. Texts and Readings.

##### Required:

Robert A. Pastor, ed., A Century's Journey: How the Great Powers Shape the World (NY: Basic Books, 1999).

John Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics (NY: W.W. Norton and Company, 2001).

Henry Kissinger, Diplomacy (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1995)

Steven Hook and John Spanier, American Foreign Policy Since World War II (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 18<sup>th</sup> edition, 2009)

##### Recommended:

Ryan K. Beasley, Juliet Kaarbo, Jeffrey S. Lantis, and Michael T. Snarr, Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective: Domestic and International Influences on State Behavior (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2002)

Donald M. Snow, Cases in International Relations (N.Y.: Longman, 2012).

**All the articles should be on Blackboard (BB). Foreign Affairs articles will be referred to below as ForAff/.**

#### 5. Course Procedures and Requirements.

Students should read The New York Times every day and complete the required reading before each class. The final grade will be based on the following: (a) mid-term (30%); (b) class participation, including simulation, and a memorandum (30%); and (c) final exam (40%). The memorandum should analyze a contemporary problem and propose a strategy for dealing with it to a President, Prime Minister, or the U.N. Secretary General. A description and outline for the memo will be discussed in class.

Standards of academic conduct are set forth in the University's Academic Integrity Code. By registering, you have acknowledged your awareness of the Academic Integrity Code, and you are obliged to become familiar with your rights and responsibilities as defined by the Code. Violations of the Academic Integrity Code will not be treated lightly, and disciplinary actions will be taken should such violations occur. I encourage you to familiarize yourself with the AIC code found at <http://www.american.edu/provost/registrar/regulations/reg80.cfm>

#### EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS

In the event of a declared pandemic (influenza or other communicable disease), American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class,

depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence due to illness. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of a declared pandemic or other emergency, students should refer to the AU Web site ([www.prepared.american.edu](http://www.prepared.american.edu)) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/college-specific information.

## 5. Course Schedule

### Part I: Framework

#### January 18 Introduction - What is a Great and Major Power?

- John Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics (NY: W.W. Norton and Company, 2001), Chapters 1-4.
- Robert Pastor, A Century's Journey, Preface, Chapter 1 (pp. xii-ix; 1-31)
- Henry Kissinger, Diplomacy (N.Y: Simon & Schuster, 1994), Chap. 1 (pp. 17-28)
- David Bosco, Five to Rule Them All, Chapter 1, pp. 10-38.
- Ryan K. Beasley, Juliet Kaarbo, Jeffrey S. Lantis, and Michael T. Snarr, Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective: Domestic and International Influences on State Behavior (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2002), Chapter 1, "The Analysis of Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective," pp. 1-23. **Hereafter: Beasley**

#### January 25 Theory and Policy

- Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis" (1969) American Political Science Review (BB)
- Deborah Larson, Origins of Containment: A Psychological Explanation (Princeton University Press, 1985), "Conclusions," pp. 324-356.
- Robert Pastor, Exiting the Whirlpool: US Foreign Policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean (Westview Press, 2001, 2nd edition), Chapter 7: Interbranch Politics and the American Dialectic
- Kenneth M. Jensen, ed., Origins of the Cold War: The Novikov, Kennan, and Roberts' Long Telegrams of 1946 (US Institute of Peace, 1991), pp. 1-42.
- **Discussion of Memorandum.** See "Cuba Policy - PRC Meeting" and "Presidential Directive/NSC-6", March 1977.

### Part II: The Major Powers

#### February 1 Great Britain

- Pastor, eds., Chapter 2 (Lieber)
- Mearsheimer, Chapter 5; also pp. 261-266, 272-288
- Mark Blyth and Jonathan Hopkin, "Labour Pains: Why the British General Election is a Referendum on its Past," Foreign Affairs, Snapshot, May 4, 2011
- Tony Blair, A Journey: My Political Life (Knopf, 2010), Chapter 8, "Kosovo"

**February 8                      France, Germany, and the European Union**

- Pastor, eds., Chapter 3 (Hoffmann), Chapter 4 (Joffe)
- Kissinger, Diplomacy, Chapter 5 (pp. 103-136).
- Andrew Moravcsik, "Europe, the 2nd Superpower," *Current History*, March 2010
- Jackson Janes and Stephen Szabo, "Merkel's Germany," *Current History*, March 2007, pp. 106-110
- Mearsheimer, pp. 181-190, 213-219, 288-322.
- "Sarkozy's Wars," The Economist, May 12, 2011.
- Jan Techau, "The Strategic Europe Yardstick: Making Foreign Policy Strategic in a Union of 27," Carnegie Endowment, January 9, 2012. See: <http://carnegieeurope.eu/publications/?fa=46406&lang=en>

**February 15                      Three Russias**

- Pastor, Chapter 5 (Legvold)
- Dmitri Trenin, "Russia's Post-Imperial Condition," *Current History* (Oct. 2011).
- Charles Kupchan, "NATO's Final Frontier," Foreign Affairs (May/June 2010).

**February 22                      Japan**

- Pastor, Chapter 7 (Pyle),
- Mearsheimer, pp. 172-181, 219-224
- Eamonn Fingleton, "The Myth of Japan's Failure," New York Times, January 6, 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/08/opinion/sunday/the-true-story-of-japans-economic-success.html?pagewanted=3&r=1&ref=opinion>
- T. J. Pempel, "Japan's Search for the 'Sweet Spot': International Cooperation and Regional Security in Northeast Asia," Orbis, Vol. 55, 2 (March 2011)
- Daniel Sneider and Richard Katz, "The New Asianism," Foreign Policy, October 13, 2009.

**February 29                      United States – Themes, Background**

- Pastor, Chapter 6
- Hook and Spanier, American Foreign Policy Since World War II, pp. xv-xxi; Chapter 1 (pp. 1-20).
- Mearsheimer, pp. 224-229, 234-261.
- Henry Kissinger, Diplomacy, Chapter 2 (pp. 29-55); Chapters 15-16 (369-422).

**March 7, 5:30-7:00 pm                      Mid-Term Exam**

**March 11-18                      Spring break**

**March 21                      U.S. Foreign Policy – 1898 to present**

- Hook and Spanier, Chapters 2-14
- Kissinger, Diplomacy, Chapters 30-31, pp. 762-835.
- G. John Ikenberry, "The Future of the Liberal World Order: Internationalism After America," Foreign Affairs (May/June 2011), pp. 56-68.

- Michael Beckley, "China's Century? Why America's Edge Will Endure," International Security (Winter 2011/12), pp. 41-55.

**March 27** **First Draft of Memo is Due by Noon**  
(hard copy should be left in my office or in box outside my office)

**March 29** **Rising Asian powers: China and India**

- Pastor, Chapter 8 (Oksenberg)
- Donald Snow, Cases in International Relations, Chapter 11, pp. 206-221.
- Christopher Layne, "China's Challenge to U.S. Hegemony," (2008) *Current History*, (BB)
- Wang Jisi, "China's Search for a Grand Strategy," and Charles Glaser, "Will China's Rise Lead to War?" both in Foreign Affairs, Vol. 90, 2 (March/April 2011).

### PART III: CRITICAL ISSUES

**April 4** **The United Nations and the Middle East**

The Middle East has confronted multiple levels and kinds of conflicts since the end of the Second World War - territorial, ethnic, intra- and inter-religious - but the central conflict has been the struggle for the "Holy Land" between Israel and the Palestinians. In this case, students will represent the major actors and seek a UN resolution that can provide the framework for a two-state solution.

- Donald Snow, Cases in International Relations, pp. 66-84.
- David Bosco, Five to Rule Them All, pp. 48-50, 71-79, 104-11, 126-137.
- Jimmy Carter, We Can Have Peace in the Holy Land (N.Y.: Simon and Schuster, 2009), Chapters 1, 3, 13
- For background, see: [www.foreignaffairs.com/readinglists/peace-process](http://www.foreignaffairs.com/readinglists/peace-process)
- Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-68, Vol XIX, Arab-Israeli Crisis and War, May 26, 1967, Document 71.

**April 11** **Globalization and Regionalization - The EU and the Rest**

Since the beginning of the GATT in 1947, the world trading system expanded so rapidly that few realized that the largest amount of world trade was still occurring within existing regions. The most integrated region has been the European Union, but North America and East Asia have advanced. Still, each region has wrestled with the tensions between integration and sovereignty. In this case, we shall identify the challenges of regional integration and propose strategies to address them.

- Donald Snow, Cases in International Relations, Chapters 9-10, pp. 169-205.
- Albert Bressand, "Between Kant and Machiavelli: EU Foreign Policy Priorities in the 2010s," International Affairs (2011), 59-85.
- Robert Pastor, The North American Idea, Chapters 1, 7.

- Mireya Solis, Waseda University Organization for Japan-US Studies, Working Paper No. 201102, July 27, 2011:  
<http://www.kikou.waseda.ac.jp/wojuss/eng/achievement/publication/pdf/wp201102.pdf>
- Naomi Klein, "Reclaiming the Commons," *New Left Review*, May/June 2001, pp. 81-89.

### **April 18 Proliferation Crises - The Cases of North Korea and Iran**

The prospect of a hostile state acquiring a nuclear weapon has been a frightening concern since the beginning of the nuclear age. In these two cases, we shall seek to understand the perspectives of the major powers and the prospective nuclear nations as they considered various options.

- Barry Posen, Barry Rubin, James Lindsay and Ray Takeyh, "The Containment Conundrum: How Dangerous is a Nuclear Iran?" *ForAff* (July/August 2010), pp. 160-68.
- Donald Snow, *Cases in International Relations*, Chapters 6-7, pp. 107-145.
- David Bosco, *Five to Rule Them All*, pp. 245-48.
- Mitchell B. Reiss and Robert Galucci, Richard L. Garwin, and Selig Harrison, "Red-Handed: The Truth About North Korea's Weapons Program," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2005), pp. 142-148.
- Beasley chapter on Iran
- For a debate on whether and how to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons, see: <http://www.theatlantic.com/debates/israel-iran/>

### **April 23 Final Memorandum is Due by Noon** (hard copy should be left in my office or in box outside)

### **April 25 Presentations of Memos and Summary**

Students will discuss the issues raised by their memoranda and then Dr. Pastor will summarize and review the course.

- David Bosco, *Five to Rule Them All*, Conclusion, pp. 249-256.
- Jorge Castaneda, "Not Ready for Prime Time: Why Including Emerging Powers at the Helm Would Hurt Global Governance," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2010).

### **May 2, 5:30-7:00 pm Final Exam**